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A HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL PARTY IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH HANDBOOKS

Edited by the Rev. W. H. GRIFFITH THOMAS, D.D., Principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford

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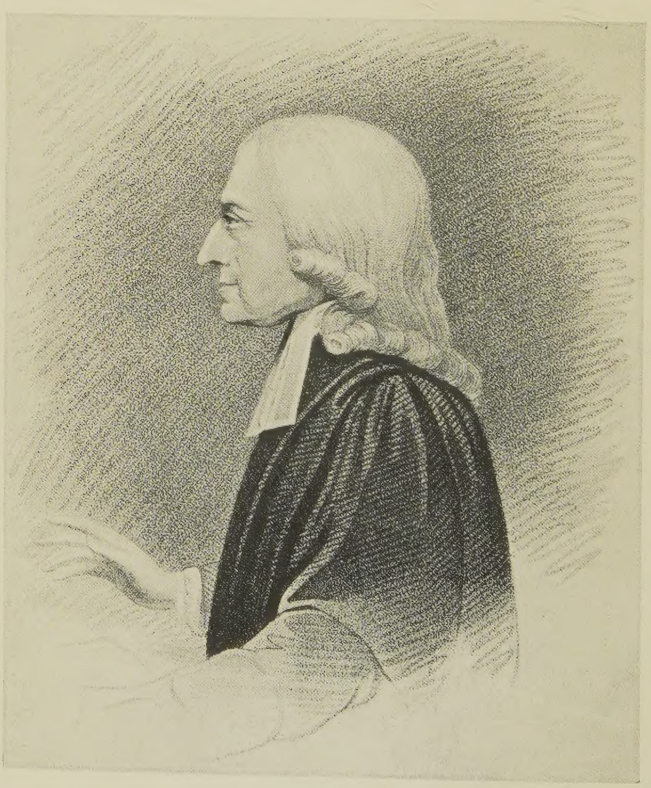

JOHN WESLEY

FROM AN ENGRAVING BY W. T. FRY

A HISTORY

OF

THE EVANGELICAL PARTY

IN

The Church of England

BY

G. R. BALLEINE, M.A.

VICAR OF ST. JAMES'S, BERMONDSEY

"THE LORD HATH SO DONE HIS MARVELLOUS WORKS THAT THEY OUGHT TO BE HAD IN REMEMBRANCE"

WITH 4 ILLUSTRATIONS

SECOND IMPRESSION

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

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1909

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Periculosae plenum opus aleae
tractas, et incedis per ignis
suppositos cineri doloso.

HORACE, *Carm.*, ii. 1.

30487

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PREFACE

A PARTY has been defined[1] as "a section of a larger society, united to carry out the objects of the whole body on principles and by methods peculiar to itself." It is in this sense that the word can be used of the Evangelicals. They have never been a party of the parliamentary type, drilled and disciplined to respond promptly to the crack of the whip. Though they have shown almost a genius for organization—the great Missionary Societies are evidence of this—they have always refused to use this power merely for party purposes. Every attempt to create a counterpart to the English Church Union has failed. Wesley's sneer,[2] "They are a rope of sand, and such they will continue," has been quoted against them in every generation. Nevertheless they have worked together for a century and a half, a distinct group within the larger Society of the Church, with methods and principles more or less peculiar to themselves, but with no object, except that for which the whole Church exists, the salvation of souls and the training of citizens for the Kingdom of Christ.

[1] *Fraser's Magazine*, January, 1878, p. 22.

[2] Paper read by Wesley to Conference, 1769. Printed by Tyerman, III, 49.

In the following pages I have attempted to sketch the gradual growth of this party, and the development of its work at home and abroad. No one can write on such a subject without owing a heavy debt to previous workers in the field, especially to Mr. Luke Tyerman for his exhaustive studies of the literature of the Methodist movement, to Canon Overton for his researches into the Church life of the eighteenth century, and to Mr. Eugene Stock, whose masterly *History of the Church Missionary Society* contains many valuable chapters on the work at home. To these names I must add that of the Rev. Charles Hole, whose unpublished manuscripts are now in the C.M.S. Library. My own book was practically complete before I learned of their existence, but I have found their scholarly accuracy invaluable in the work of revision. I have gladly availed myself of help from all modern sources, but at the same time I have tried to base every statement strictly on contemporary evidence. More than a thousand eighteenth-century biographies and pamphlets have been studied. Constant journeys on the underground railway have given a quiet opportunity for reading all the seventy-five volumes of the *Christian Observer*. The back numbers of the *Record* and *Guardian* have grown very familiar, and Bristol, Manchester, and Liverpool newspapers have been frequently consulted. Whatever faults or defects may be found in the book, I venture to claim two points at least in its favour: it is the work of one who is entirely in sympathy with his subject—

and without sympathy no true history can be written —but it is not on that account merely a brief for the defence; every effort has been made to discover the actual facts, and nothing has been consciously inserted or suppressed to give a bias to the story.

I have tried to keep the book strictly within the limits of its title. It does not profess to be a complete history of the Church of England since 1729, nor a complete history of the Evangelical movement. On the one hand little has been said about the work of the High Church Party, except when necessary to explain the attitude of the Evangelicals, and hardly anything at all about the work of the Broad Churchmen. On the other hand, nothing has been said of the Evangelical Party in the Church of Ireland and the part they played in the disestablishment crisis and their courage in giving episcopal orders to the reformers abroad, nor of the gallant struggle for existence of the Evangelicals within the Episcopal Church in Scotland, nor of the spread of Evangelicalism among the Nonconformists. Much good work has been done by Churchmen outside the Evangelical group, and much good work has been done by Evangelicals outside the Church of England, but the following pages deal solely with the work of the English Evangelical Churchmen.

One further word of warning may be necessary. It has not been possible always to keep strict chronological order. No attempt has been made to group all the events of a single year together; the arrangement is sometimes geographical, sometimes

topical, seldom annalistic. Thus the events of chapter IV. did not take place after those described in chapter III., but the two movements went on side by side; the same may be said of chapters VIII. and IX. I hope, however, that the Chronological Table at the end will prevent this arrangement causing any difficulty.

The list of books at the end of each chapter is not intended to be a complete bibliography. It merely suggests to those who wish to study the matter further a few useful sources of information. Some of the books mentioned must be read with discrimination.

I have to thank many kind friends, who have sacrificed much valuable time in helping to make the book more worthy of its subject. They know how grateful I am to them. I do not mention their names, through fear lest they should be held accountable for my personal opinions. If anything has been misstated or misrepresented, the responsibility must be borne by myself alone. I can, however, express my gratitude to Mr. A. P. Dixon, of Cambridge, for the curious caricature of Simeon, which has been reproduced by his kind permission.

If this little book is able to do something to arouse interest in a much neglected piece of Church history, to clear away a few of the misconceptions that prevail about the Evangelicals, and to stir some readers to greater earnestness in the service of God, through the example of the good men whose lives are recorded here, I shall be satisfied.

G. R. B.

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From a Drawing by J. Slater in the Grillions Club Volume

JOHN CHARLES RYLE, BISHOP OF LIVERPOOL „ „ 278

From a Photograph by Russell and Sons

Not the labours of my hands
Can fulfil Thy law's demands:
Could my zeal no respite know,
Could my tears for ever flow,
All for sin could not atone;
Thou must save, and Thou alone.

Nothing in my hand I bring,
Simply to Thy Cross I cling;
Naked, come to Thee for dress;
Helpless, look to Thee for grace;
Foul, I to the Fountain fly;
Wash me, Saviour, or I die.

A HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL PARTY IN The Church of England

CHAPTER I

THE OXFORD METHODISTS

"A grain of mustard seed, when it is sown, is less than all the seeds that be in the earth, but it groweth."

EVANGELICAL Churchmen trace their pedigree to the Puritans, the Reformers, and the Lollards, to all within the National Church who have learned to love a simple worship and a spiritual religion; but as a party their existence dates from the Great Revival of the eighteenth century. The story opens at Oxford in 1729; George II was on the throne, but the University ignored him; she illuminated her windows every year on the birthday of the Pretender, and drank the health of James III by the light of blazing bonfires. Undergraduate life was very different from that which we know to-day; there were no examinations, no athletics, hardly any

Oxford and its Clubs.

lectures, and very little learning. Gentlemen-commoners in powdered wigs lounged in Lyne's Coffee House, or talked sentiment to tradesmen's daughters in the Merton Walks. Dissipated young squires divided their time between the cockpit and the tavern. The few serious students declared with disgust[1] that the resident fellows considered their work as teachers to be fully accomplished when they had gravely handed their pupils the key of the College Library; like Gibbon's tutor, who "remembered that he had a salary to receive, and forgot that he had a duty to perform.' Intellectually it was the darkest age in the University history. "Pride and peevishness, sloth and indolence, gluttony, sensuality, and a proverbial uselessness,"[2] seemed to Wesley the seven predominant features of common-room life. Three subjects, and three subjects alone, were able to stir the interests of the senior men—the virtue of the college port, the progress of the college lawsuit, and the latest fashion in dilettante treason.

The younger men, left to themselves, organized innumerable clubs, and, as the dinner hour was eleven in the morning, the whole evening was free for these gatherings. The exquisite sipped his arrack punch at the Poetical or the Amorous. For the country lads a Drinking Club roystered in every alehouse. The quieter men also had their own little gatherings. "Having brought with me the character

[1] Cf. Gibbon's *Autobiography; Terrae Filius*, by N. Amhurst; Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, v. 1.

[2] *Scriptural Christianity:* a sermon before the University, 1744.

of a tolerably good Grecian," wrote Richard Graves,[1] who matriculated at Pembroke on the same day as Whitefield, "I was invited to a very sober little party, who amused themselves in the evening with reading Greek and drinking water. We read over Theophrastus, Epictetus, Phalaris' Epistles, and such other Greek authors as are seldom read at school." And a Club with whose doings we are concerned, which was destined to develop in very unexpected ways, was at first nothing but just such a social club as this.

The "Holy Club."

"In November, 1729," wrote John Wesley,[2] "four young gentlemen of Oxford, Mr. John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln, Mr. Charles Wesley, Student of Christ Church, Mr. Morgan, Commoner of Christ Church, and Mr. Kirkham of Merton College, began to spend some evenings in a week together in reading chiefly the Greek Testament." The two Wesleys were sons of a country clergyman, that vehement, peremptory, impracticable, little man, the High Church Rector of Epworth. John, the elder brother, was almost a typical Oxford scholar, exact, fastidious, logical; for two years he had been acting as his father's curate, but a passing spasm of University reform had just recalled him to Lincoln to resume his duties as Greek Lecturer. Charles, the real founder of the Club, was five years his junior. Kirkham was a frank, jovial young fellow, who knew the Wesleys at home, and Morgan a warm-hearted, enthusiastic Irishman. At first the Club much re-

[1] *Recollections of the Life of Wm. Shenstone*, by R. Graves, 1788.
[2] *A Short History of Methodism*, by J. Wesley.

sembled that described by Graves; several evenings a week were devoted to the study of classical authors; but gradually their interest in religious questions crowded out everything else. William Law's *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* had been published that year, and every one was reading and discussing it. "The short of the matter is this," wrote the great Nonjuror,[1] "either reason and religion prescribe rules and ends to all the ordinary actions of life, or they do not; if they do, then it is as necessary to govern all our actions by those rules, as it is necessary to worship God." Nowhere did he find more eager disciples than around Wesley's table. This was the problem that they discussed night after night,—By what rules ought a Christian to regulate his life? They tried to map out for each week a sort of railway time-table, having a fixed and definite duty for every moment of the day; and the revision and perfection of their time-tables occupied much of their evenings. As the rumour of what they were doing spread through the colleges, it appealed to the loose-living men around them as a tremendous joke. Dozens of nicknames were coined—"Bible Moths," "Holy Club," "Godly Club"—but one "young gentleman of Christ Church" unearthed for them an old name[2] which was destined to become historic. "Here is a new sect of Methodists," he sneered. "The name,"

[1] Law's *Serious Call*, chap. I.

[2] The original Méthodistes were a school of French Calvinists in the seventeenth century. There was also a small English sect of this name during the Commonwealth.

wrote John Wesley,[1] "clave to them immediately, and from that time both these four and all that had any religious connexion with them were distinguished by the name of Methodists. In the three or four years following another and another were added to their number, till in the year 1735 there were fourteen of them who constantly met together. Three of these were Tutors in their several colleges, the rest Bachelors of Arts or Undergraduates. They were all precisely of one judgement as well as of one soul, all tenacious of order to the last degree, and observant for conscience' sake of every rule of the Church and every statute both of the University and of their respective Colleges. They were all orthodox in every point, firmly believing, not only the three creeds, but whatsoever they judged to be the doctrine of the Church of England." The most notable of the new recruits were Hervey of Lincoln, Gambold of Christ Church, Ingham of Queen's, Clayton of Brazenose, and Broughton of University.

Visiting the Castle.

For nine months they met nightly in John Wesley's comfortable rooms with the famous Lincoln vine twining round the windows. "The chief business was to review what each had done that day, and to consult what steps were to be taken next."[2] But vigorous and enthusiastic young men could not be expected to spend their time entirely in discussion. Soon a definite plan of

[1] *Sermon at the Foundation of City Road Chapel*, 1777.

[2] Gambold's *Account* quoted in full in Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists*, p. 158.

campaign began to shape itself, and in this Morgan, the eager and impetuous, was the pioneer. His attention was called to the miserable condition of the prisoners in Oxford Castle. These were the days before Howard's Visitation, when the state of English gaols was a national disgrace. The Castle was horribly overcrowded and disgustingly dirty; men and women, debtors and felons were crowded together all day; at night the women were driven to a dungeon without either windows or beds to sleep on filthy straw that had been left by friends of previous prisoners. No attempt was made to preserve discipline of any kind. Vice was rampant; drunkenness was encouraged, for the unpaid gaoler lived by the sale of beer. The place was hardly ever free from small-pox and gaol fever; but there was no infirmary, and the chapel, a relic of some more religious age, had no chaplain, and was never used. One day in the summer of 1730 Morgan heard that a man was lying in this den of iniquity who had been condemned to death for murdering his wife. A great desire suddenly seized him to visit this poor felon, and speak to him of the Saviour, who gave His life for sinners. He went, and returned to the Club full of the sights he had seen, and persuaded the two Wesleys to go and see for themselves. The result was that they decided, if the Bishop would give permission—for as Churchmen they were far too strict to take any step without it—to begin some missionary work among the prisoners in the Castle. The Bishop "not only gave permission, but was greatly

pleased with the undertaking,"[1] and every day this band of friends braved the fever and the smells, mixed with the prisoners and chatted with them, and then invited them to the disused chapel, where they read aloud *The Country Parson's Advice to his Parishioners.* Every Wednesday and Friday they read the Litany, and held a service with sermon every Sunday afternoon. As their number grew, they extended their work to Bocardo, the debtors' prison, holding services there daily, and showing their practical sympathy by raising a fund to release those who were imprisoned for small debts. They also managed to start a little school in the slums, paying the mistress and clothing many of the children. "When they went thither, they inquired how each child behaved, saw their work, for some could knit and spin, heard them read, heard them their prayers and catechism, and explained part of it. In the same way they taught the children in the workhouse, and read to the old people as they did to the prisoners."[2] Altogether a marvellous amount of work to be undertaken by a few young men, who, as their later writings show, were by no means neglecting their secular studies.

Looking Backward.

But they were all beginners. None of them believed that he had yet attained to a full knowledge of the truth. Everything was still experimental. They were groping their way towards the light. Probably most earnest men, who take an interest in theology, pass through a stage in

[1] Wesley's *Journal,* Introductory Letter.

[2] Gambold's *Account.*

which they feel strongly the glamour of Antiquity. They construct for themselves a picture of the Past vague and highly idealised, and then long to restore once more the Golden Age that has gone. This was the state of mind of the Methodists in 1732. Just as Morgan had been the pioneer in active missionary work, so John Clayton was now leading them to new realms of thought. He was the son of a Manchester bookseller, and as a boy he had studied the Fathers in the old shop at home, and, when questions of the religious life were discussed, he was able to illustrate his views by many apt quotations. This was new ground to most members of the Club, and they turned with eager minds to the Patristic writings. As they read Tertullian, their hearts were enthralled by that ill-fated Church of North Africa with its stern enthusiasm, its austere discipline, its intensely practical religion, and the ambition seized them to revive those glorious days in England. They began to model their lives strictly on the lines of the African Church. They had already begun the practice of weekly Communion; to this they now added the observance of the canonical hours of prayer, the stationary fasts on Wednesday and Friday, and the Saturday Sabbath, treating this as a festival in itself, and Sunday as a still greater festival in honour of the Resurrection. For a time they moved quite on the lines of the later Oxford movement, withdrawing from Communion at Christ Church, because they were not certain that the mixed chalice was used. The following memorandum by John

Wesley shows how far this impulse was carrying them :—

"I believe it is a duty to observe so far as I can (1) to baptise by immersion; (2) to use Water, Oblation of Elements, Invocation, Alms, a Prothesis, in the Eucharist; (3) to pray for the faithful departed; (4) to pray standing on Sunday in Pentecost; (5) to abstain from blood and things strangled."[1]

It was only a passing phase, but it left its mark. To the end of his life Wesley was a Patristic student; he translated the Apostolic Fathers for the use of his preachers; and most of the things that were considered innovations in the societies that he organized later—the class-meetings, the love-feasts, the quarterly tickets, the day-break services, the watch-nights, the separate seats for men and women—were really revivals of customs of the Primitive Church.

The immediate result of this development of Oxford Methodism was a furious outburst of persecution, the crowning offence being the withdrawal from Hall for the Wednesday and Friday fasts. *Fogg's Journal*, usually a respectable paper, published[2] a scandalous article hinting that this mode of life was only a veil for vice. When Morgan died, it was openly asserted that Wesley and his friends had murdered him by forcing him to fast. They were pelted in the streets. Crowds assembled to hoot, when they went to their weekly Communion. Their number gradually fell away, till only five were left.

[1] Printed in full in Urlin's *Wesley's Place in Church History*.

[2] December 9, 1732.

But at their darkest hour they gained their most famous recruit. George Whitefield, the future orator of the movement, was of humble origin: his mother kept an inn at Gloucester, and he himself had worn the blue apron behind the bar: now he was earning his education as a servitor at Pembroke. A shy, retiring, shabbily-dressed lad with dark blue eyes and a singularly beautiful face, he had for some time secretly admired the Methodists, and at last an opportunity came of making their acquaintance. An old woman in one of the workhouses tried to commit suicide, and, knowing how eager the Wesleys were to help all in distress, Whitefield sent a message to Charles informing him of the fact. In return there came an invitation to breakfast, and in a few days Whitefield was enrolled as a full member of the Club.

George Whitefield.

The number was now complete. In less than a year the Club dissolved, as all groups of Oxford friends must. The two Wesleys and Ingham crossed the Atlantic as S.P.G. chaplains. Whitefield took a curacy, and twelve months later followed his friends to Georgia. Clayton went to Manchester, Gambold and Hervey to country parishes. The first stage of the movement was over, a stage which in spite of its high aspiration and strenuous self-denial was obviously imperfect. As we watch all their physical austerities—Whitefield kneeling for hours in the snow, and Wesley maltreating his body till he brings on hæmorrhage of the lungs—the relentless treadmill of carefully timed

The Scattering.

duties, the morbid system of self-scrutiny, which kept every movement of the soul perpetually under the microscope, we can only agree with the verdict which Wesley passed at a later day :[1] this may have been the faith of servants, but it was very far removed from the faith of sons.

FOR FURTHER STUDY. For Eighteenth-Century Oxford, J. R. Green's *Studies in Oxford History*. For the Holy Club, Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists*. *Lives* of Wesley and Whitefield (see note at end of chap. iii). *Dictionary of National Biography*—Articles: T. Broughton, J. Clayton, J. Gambold, J. Hervey, W. Hall, B. Ingham, C. and J. Wesley, Whitefield.

[1] Note added in 1771 to entry in *Journal* of February 29, 1738.

CHAPTER II

BEFORE THE DAWN

"While men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares."

WHILE Wesley is absent, let us look at the condition of the country. It was the England of Sir Robert Walpole. The great Peace Minister's rule had brought much outward prosperity. Wages were good, taxes light, and trade extending daily. The sleek fat faces in the portraits of the period speak of abundance of beef and beer and good plum porridge. But with prosperity there had come a feeling of well-fed somnolence; the spirit was subdued to the flesh; there was only too much to justify Carlyle's bitter phrase, "Soul extinct: stomach well alive."

The drunkenness of the age is proverbial. Not a single class in the country seemed to be free from this vice. Walpole was a drunkard, so was his great opponent Bolingbroke, so were Carteret, and Pulteney, and even the gentle Oxford. The country squires were sodden with alcohol; they were most of them "six-bottle men." Is there any one now who could drink six bottles of port at a sitting? All business was transacted in taverns, and the typical merchant of the

Intemperance.

period constantly enters in his diary:[1] "got very drunk," "undoubtedly the worse for drinking," "cannot say I came home sober." Among the poorer classes the action of the Government had caused a perfect pandemonium. There was a dispute with France, and the ministers decided to retaliate by trying to check the trade in French brandy. To do this they took off all restrictions from the sale of English spirits. To sell beer required a licence, but any one who liked might make and sell gin. In a few weeks, six thousand gin shops were opened in London and Westminster; gin was sold in the streets from barrows, and hawked from door to door. "Drunk for 1d., dead drunk for 2d., clean straw for nothing!"—so ran the tempting sign. When the straw was full, the pavement outside was covered with senseless forms. "Should the drinking of this poison," wrote Fielding,[2] "be continued at its present height during the next twenty years, there will by that time be very few of the common people left to drink it."

Another characteristic of the age was its extraordinary coarseness. In fashionable circles filth was regarded as the choicest form of wit, and few could rival the Queen in this, when she chose to jest with the ministers. The stage seemed to exist for nothing but to preach and propagate vice, and almost all the literature of the time was stamped with the mark of the Beast. From the

Immorality.

[1] See *Diary* of Thomas Turner quoted in Besant's *London in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 241.

[2] Pamphlet *On the late Increase of Robbers*, 1751.

gross obscenity of Fielding to the sniggering nastiness of Sterne, it is impossible to get away from this all-pervading taint; even the moralist Addison cannot keep his pages clean, while the smaller fry are quite unreadable. This is a point to be remembered, when we find the early Evangelicals denouncing novel-reading. Before Sir Walter Scott there were very few clean novels in existence. Goldsmith confessed[1] that most novels were "no better than instruments of debauchery." Sheridan made Sir Anthony Absolute say,[2] "A circulating library is an evergreen tree of diabolical knowledge"; while George Colman, the dramatist, declared,[3] "A man might as well turn his daughter loose in Covent Garden as trust the cultivation of her mind to a circulating library." And in this respect literature was only a mirror of contemporary life. The King, the Prime Minister, and the Prince of Wales were all living in open adultery. In Society, Lady Montagu wrote,[4] "the appellation of rake is as genteel in a woman as in a man of quality." Labourers sold their wives by auction in the cattle market, and the Baptism registers show how rampant immorality was in the villages.

Side by side with this uncleanness went a passion for cruelty. Bulls were baited in every village, and even on cathedral greens. "A mad bull to be dressed up with fireworks," so runs one advertisement in a 1730 newspaper,[5] "a dog to

Cruelty.

[1] *Citizen of the World.* Letter LXXXIII. [2] *Rivals*, I, 2.
[3] *Polly Honeycombe.* Closing words.
[4] *Letter* to Countess of Mar, October, 1723.
[5] Quoted by Lecky, *History of England in Eighteenth Century*, I, 552.

be dressed up with fireworks over him, a bear to be let loose at the same time, and a cat to be tied to the bull's tail." Even the clergy kept fighting cocks, and sometimes recorded their victories in the parish registers. Other ways of torturing animals all had their attractions: but the favourite form of amusement was an execution. There were 253 capital offences on the Statute Book. If you picked a pocket or stole a sheep, if you cut a hop-bind or damaged a bridge, the penalty was death. Charles Wesley preached in one gaol to fifty-two criminals who were waiting to be hung, and among them was a child of ten. All London turned out on Mondays for the Tyburn hangings. Fashionable people paid for seats on the grand stand—George Selwyn boasted that he had never missed an execution—and thousands who could not afford seats sucked oranges round the gallows, watching the contortions of the poor wretches as they slowly choked to death, for no drop was allowed, and it took a man a good half-hour to die.

But brutal as the punishments were, they seemed to have no effect in checking the spread of crime.

Crime.

Bands of wealthy young blackguards, called "Mohocks," terrorised the London streets, slitting noses and rolling respectable matrons in barrels. Day after day for weeks together the Hampstead and Hackney and Islington coaches were stopped by highwaymen. In the south, most of the landed gentry were in league with the smugglers. The "Blacks" in the west were well-to-do farmers organized for the purpose of burglary. Jack Sheppard

and Dick Turpin were the heroes of the mob. The few feeble old night-watchmen and the Bow Street runners were quite incapable of dealing with the situation, and the private citizen, wrote Horace Walpole,[1] was "forced to travel, even at noon, as if he were going to battle."

The Church in the Towns.

But all this time there was in the country an organized Christian Church with hundreds of duly accredited clergy—to say nothing of the Nonconformist bodies and their ministers—all of whom were pledged to be teachers of honesty, temperance, purity, mercy. Whence this appalling failure? Alas! it was the Glacial Epoch in our Church History. Puritan enthusiasm had been driven out at the Restoration, and High Church enthusiasm had departed with the Nonjurors; only the cautious and the colourless remained, Laodiceans, whose ideal Church was neither hot nor cold. The London clergy were dignified and respectable, and often men of learning. Christianity was to them the highest form of Rationalism: "It requires only such duties of us," said one of the leading preachers,[2] "as are suitable to the light of nature, and do approve themselves to the best reason of mankind." They honoured our Lord as the most enlightened of all the law-givers, and Sunday by Sunday ponderously proved that the laws of conduct which He laid down are agreeable to common sense, that honesty is always the best policy, and virtue its own reward. Their

[1] *Letter* to Sir H. Mann, March, 1752.
[2] Tillotson's *Sermons*, I, 448.

boast was that they "let alone the mysterious points of religion, and preached to the people only good plain, practical morality."[1] The result was a dreary, drab-coloured faith, devoid of power or beauty; and when Blackstone, the famous lawyer, had heard every preacher of note in London, he declared that not one of the sermons contained more Christianity than the writings of Cicero.

Nonconformity had even less spiritual life than the Church. Many of the Baptist and most of the old Presbyterian congregations were rapidly drifting into the new Unitarian sect. In 1756, for example, only two of the meeting-houses in the large towns of the north remained Trinitarian.[2] In the West of England things were just as bad. The orthodox remnant was numerically weak, and exercised little influence.

Nonconformity.

But we have not yet spoken of the country districts. These were the most important of all, for at this time five out of every six Englishmen lived in the villages. Here the Church was cursed with the twin evils of pluralities and non-residence. Parishes were regarded as sources of income rather than spheres of labour, and scores of villages never saw their Rector, unless perhaps he came to settle some dispute about the tithe. The skilful place-hunter might accept as many livings as he could get, and never think of doing the duty himself in any one of them. The Bishops did nothing

The Church in the Villages.

[1] T. Bisse, *Visitation Sermon*, 1716.

[2] See Dale's *English Congregationalism*, p. 560.

to interfere, for they were the worst offenders. The Bishop of Llandaff a few years later was Rector at one and the same time of two parishes in Shropshire, two in Leicestershire, two in the Isle of Ely, three in Huntingdonshire, and seven in Wales, while he himself lived in Westmorland the life of a prosperous farmer. "Having no place of residence," he wrote,[1] "in my diocese, I turned my attention to the improvement of land. I thought the improvement of a man's fortune by cultivating the earth was the most useful and honourable way of providing for a family."

Squadrons of curates galloped out from the towns early on Sunday mornings, each man meaning to visit six or seven villages. The sextons kept watch on the church towers for the coming of the parson, and when he was sighted rang the bell to summon the congregation. As soon as the prayers were gabbled through, the curate mounted his horse and rode on to the next village, and was not seen again for a week. Hundreds of parishes had only one service a week, and even that was dropped whenever the weather was bad. In the Bishops' Visitation Returns the clergy would naturally try to show the best side of their work, but all the figures that have come down to us tell the same story. In the Forest Deanery of Gloucester,[2] for example — a typical country district—in 1750, out of thirty-five churches, twenty-three only professed to have one service a Sunday, two had only one service a month, and two

[1] *Anecdotes of the Life of R. Watson, written by himself.*

[2] Returns printed in *Gloucester Diocesan Magazine*, 1907.

more had no service at all in winter. In Essex,[1] in 1763, only 102 of the 310 churches were even supposed to have two services a Sunday, and some had only one service a fortnight, and some only one a month. Only twenty parishes had a monthly Communion; in the majority there were three or four administrations a year, and two had none at all. Only five parishes in the county had any week-day service.

So deeply rooted was this system of non-residence that the Bishops even defended it, and Paley himself only ventured to suggest[2] to the absentee incumbents that they might occasionally send their parishioners some S.P.C.K. tracts. Of course there were some exceptions. In the Forest Deanery, mentioned above, there was one church with daily service. In some parishes the Vicar was the friend and counsellor of the whole village. Fielding's guileless Parson Adams and Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield were certainly sketched from the life. But even where the clergy were resident the evidence unfortunately proves that for every one Parson Adams there were ten like Parson Trulliber, to whom his hogs were of far greater importance than his flock.

Meanwhile many of the churches were allowed to fall into ruins. We have the Journal of a Bishop of Carlisle,[3] who ventured to explore his diocese, and it

[1] List compiled by W. Dickes, Secretary to Bishop Osbaldestone. Guildhall MSS., 481. [2] *Charge*, 1785.

[3] *Miscellany Accounts of Diocese of Carlile*, by Bishop Nicolson. Published by Cumberland Archæological Society, 1877.

is full of entries like these:—"The church here is quite demolished." "The church is in a very ill state." "Church and chancel are both in ruins." "The inside of the church was full of water." "The church looked more like a pig-sty than ye House of God." Of one church he wrote:—"The roof is miserably shattered and broken. Not one pane of glass in any of the windows. No flooring. No seats. No reading-desk. They happened to bring a corpse to be buryed, according to the custom of the place without any service, whilst we were there. I desired Mr. Benson, my chaplain, to officiate, but he could only find some few scraps of a Prayer Book and an insufferably-torn Bible of the old translation. There was no surplice to be found, nor did ever any such thing, as far as any present could remember, belong to this church. One of them told us that sometimes on Easter Day the Parson had brought a surplice with him; had administered ye Sacrament in it; but even that ordinance was most commonly celebrated without one." In many dioceses we hear the same complaint of the disuse of the surplice, not through any Puritan scruples, but from sheer slovenliness.

Such was the National Church in the first half of the eighteenth century, and it inevitably lost all real hold on the people. "In England," wrote Montesquieu,[1] when he came to our country, "there is no religion, and the subject, if mentioned in Society, excites nothing but laughter"—

Paganism.

[1] *Notes sur l'Angleterre.*

a verdict which we should probably put down to a foreigner's flippant ignorance, were it not confirmed by men of a very different type. But when we find Addison declaring[1] that there was "less appearance of religion in England than in any neighbouring state, Catholic or Protestant," and Bishop Butler—a man who weighed every word and hated exaggeration—writing,[2] "It has come to be taken for granted that Christianity is not so much a subject for inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious," we begin to realise the enormous task that lay before those who should attempt to make England once more Christian. If we would understand the work of the Great Revival, this dark side of the picture must be constantly kept in mind—a people coarse, brutal, ignorant, and a Church that had forgotten its mission, unspiritual, discredited, useless.

FOR FURTHER STUDY. Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Sydney's *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century*, Besant's *London in the Eighteenth Century*, Stephen's *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, Abbey and Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, Abbey's *The English Church and its Bishops* (1700–1800), W. H. Hutton's *Burford Papers*.

[1] *Freeholder*, No. 37.
[2] Advertisement prefixed to *Analogy*, 1736.

CHAPTER III

THE AWAKENING

"*The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light; they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.*"

IN February, 1738, John Wesley returned to England humbled with a sense of failure. The mission to Georgia had ended in disaster. The rough colonists had not appreciated their chaplain's zeal for rubrics: a foolishly managed love affair had still further weakened his position: and he was forced to retire, as his brother Charles and Ingham had already done. The voyage home had been a time of very great depression. He could not understand why his efforts had failed. Was it that the Gospel was not true? Or could it be that he had not yet discovered the true Gospel? He landed a tired, disheartened man, who was not even quite sure whether he was a Christian.

Return of Wesley.

He went to London to report to the trustees of the colony, and there he met Peter Böhler, a young Moravian missionary, who had just arrived from Germany on his way to Carolina. Wesley had met Moravians before, and had been deeply impressed by their simple piety,

Wesley and Böhler.

and so he welcomed every opportunity of talking with his new acquaintance. He found that they differed mainly on two points. Both accepted St. Paul's teaching that the Christian is saved by faith, but faith to Wesley was a very complicated and complex thing, a process mainly intellectual, involving "a firm assent to all the propositions contained in the Old and New Testaments."[1] To Böhler it was a simple reliance on the finished work of Christ. "Our way of believing," he wrote[2] to Count Zinzendorf, "is so easy to Englishmen, that they cannot reconcile themselves to it: if it were a little more artful, they would much sooner find their way into it." The other point was the possibility of a sudden conversion. To Wesley, as to most eighteenth-century divines, this was quite incredible. He had even refused to visit a man, who had been condemned to the gallows, because there was not time enough for him to become a Christian. But now his long discussions with Böhler drove him to his Greek Testament, and he had to confess that his new friend had the Bible on his side.

Wesley's Conversion.

But it is one thing to admit a doctrine to be exegetically sound, and quite another thing to experience it personally in the life. Charles was the first of the two brothers to learn in this inward spiritual way the meaning of the faith which saves and brings assurance of salvation. Three days later (May 24th, 1738) John

[1] *A Further Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, VI, 1.

[2] Letter printed in *Wesleyan Magazine*, 1854, p. 687.

went to a little religious meeting in Aldersgate Street. Some one was reading Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans: and, as Wesley sat and listened, for the first time he really grasped the central doctrine of the Reformation theology. "I felt my heart strangely warmed," he writes,[1] "I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation, and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death." This is rightly called his conversion, for it was the turning from Self to Christ. Hitherto, in spite of St. Paul, he had been trying to save himself. "By my continued endeavour to keep His whole law, inward and outward, to the utmost of my power, I was persuaded that I should be accepted of Him."[2] Just as the old astronomers imagined the earth to be the centre of all things, with sun and stars revolving round it as attendant satellites, so the eighteenth-century Churchman unconsciously made himself the centre of the universe, surrounded by forces of good and evil, which he must play one against the other, if he would attain to salvation. But now Wesley suddenly saw that the centre of all things was Christ; that salvation could not come from man's puny efforts, but was a gift to be received from the King upon the Throne, a gift bought with blood. Justification by faith was no longer merely a more or less mysterious article of the orthodox creed. It had become a personal and most precious experience.

[1] *Journal*, May 24, 1738. [2] *Ibid.*

What he now needed was a place of retirement, where he could think out his position, remould his theology, recast his methods, and quietly co-ordinate the old truths with the new. And not unnaturally he turned to Herrnhuth, the home of the Moravian Brethren, from whom he had learned so much. Here he remained for three months, communing with these godly peasants, full of admiration for their simple devotion, but at the same time keenly conscious of the weak points in their system; and then he returned eager to kindle in his own Church a little of their devotion.

Wesley at Herrnhuth.

About the same time Whitefield arrived from America. He came to be ordained priest, and to collect funds for an orphanage that he was building in Georgia. After preaching in several London churches, he made his way to Bristol, which was then the second city in the kingdom, the head-quarters of the American and West Indian trade, "a city," wrote Pope,[1] "very unpleasant, and no civilised company in it." But even less pleasant and civilised was the district of Kingswood, where the great collieries were which supplied the city with fuel—an utterly neglected place, without church or school, inhabited by men whose drunken savagery was recognised as a public danger. More than once the troops were required to save Bristol from plunder. Whitefield remembered what a friend had said before he sailed for America, "If you have a mind to convert Indians, there are colliers enough

Whitefield at Kingswood.

[1] See full description quoted in Hunt's *Bristol.*

at Kingswood," and on his first Sunday afternoon (February, 1739) he walked out to this district. He too had grasped by this time the meaning of justification, and when he saw these English heathen loafing around, he did what he often had done in Georgia—he stood upon a little mound and preached the Gospel to them. On the other side of the Atlantic few would have thought this extraordinary, but in eighteenth-century England it created a great sensation. On the first occasion his congregation was only about 200, but it increased from day to day, in spite of the bleak March weather, until he soon had to face 20,000 people. "Having no righteousness of their own," he writes,[1] "they were glad to hear of a Jesus Who came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. The first discovery of their being affected was to see the white gutters made by the tears which fell down their black cheeks. Hundreds were brought under deep convictions, which, as the event proved, ended in a sound conversion. The change was visible to all, though numbers chose to impute it to anything rather than the finger of God. As I had just begun to be an extempore preacher, it often occasioned many inward conflicts. Sometimes, when 20,000 people were before me, I had not in my own apprehension a word to say, either to God or them; but I was never totally deserted. The open firmament above me, the prospect of the adjacent fields with the sight of thousands and thousands, some in coaches, some on horseback, and some in the

[1] Quoted by Gledstone, *George Whitefield*, p. 77.

adjacent trees, and at times all affected and drenched in tears together, to which sometimes was added the solemnity of approaching evening, was almost too much, and sometimes quite overcame me."

No one was more surprised at the result than Whitefield himself; but, when he realised the need and power of open-air preaching in England, he saw that the work must not be confined to a single city. He wrote at once to John Wesley to take his place at Bristol, in order that he might be free to visit other centres. Wesley at first was very reluctant. "I could scarcely reconcile myself," he writes,[1] "to this strange way of preaching in the fields, having been all my life, till very lately, so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order, that I should have thought the saving of souls almost a sin, if it had not been done in church." However, the Sermon on the Mount seemed such an unanswerable precedent that (April, 1739) he "submitted to be more vile, and, standing on a little grassy mound, preached to a great crowd from the words, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor.'"[2] At last he had found his life's work. From this moment he never once faltered or looked backward. For the next eight months he preached in the open air almost every day. Three or four days a week he gave to Bristol. On the other days he rode out to neighbouring towns and villages.

Wesley and Field Preaching.

[1] *Journal*, March 29, 1739.
[2] *Journal*, April 2, 1739.

Idle, fashionable Bath, the Monte Carlo of the time, where Beau Nash reigned supreme, was visited once a fortnight, and Nash himself, when he tried to interfere, was routed with a neat rebuke. Clifton, Gloucester, and the Wiltshire Bradford heard his voice constantly. Meanwhile his brother Charles and Whitefield were stirring London to its depths, and preaching to thousands of every class on Moorfields and Kennington Common. The great mission had begun.

The Church Authorities.

Efforts were made to persuade the Bishops to recognise the movement officially. The Bishop of London, the Bishop of Gloucester, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Butler of Bristol, were all approached in turn, but nothing could be got from any of them but very cautious platitudes. There was, however, nothing to prevent the missioners from continuing their work. No law either of Church or State prohibited open-air preaching. The only irregularity was that, wherever they went, they were always in somebody else's parish; but as in many cases the incumbent was an absentee, who was doing absolutely nothing for the parish himself, his grievance could not be considered a very serious one. Whitefield's position as chaplain of Savannah made it necessary for him to travel through England to raise funds for the work in America. Wesley's Lincoln fellowship exempted him from parochial work. "Being ordained as fellow of a college," he wrote,[1] "I was not limited to any

[1] *Account of a Conversation with the Bishop of Bristol.*

particular cure, but have an indeterminable commission to preach the Word of God in any part of the Church of England." Though in the eyes of the eighteenth century their conduct was highly disorderly, there was nothing yet which compromised their position as clergy of the National Church. For the first three years they confined themselves to London and the west. Then Wesley went to Newcastle and began to rouse the north. Then they began to ride backward and forward through the whole of England, from London to Newcastle, from Newcastle to Cornwall, speaking to the people wherever they could gather them, in church or market-place, meadow or quarry. Wesley's rule was to ride about forty miles a day, and to preach in every village through which he passed. Let us take October 7th, 1739, as an example of quite an ordinary day's work, the work which he continued steadily for fifty-one years. At five in the morning he preached at Gloucester to two or three thousand people; at eleven he preached at Runwick to more than a thousand, and again in the early afternoon; he then rode to Stanley, where he preached to about three thousand, and "continued speaking near two hours," and then finished the day with another sermon at Ebly. And these were the days before Macadam, when there were no turnpikes in the north, except the road to York, and the best of turnpikes were infinitely worse than the worst of modern lanes.

Itinerancy.

Nor were the people always eager to receive

the message. In some places the evangelists were welcomed, but often they were mobbed; and there were no police in those days to protect them. Wesley's *Journal* is full of entries like these: "A man struck me with his fist in the face with all his might."[1] At Hull "clods and stones flew about on every side."[2] At Leeds "a great mob followed, and threw whatever came to hand. I was struck several times, once or twice in the face."[3] At Camelford "only one stone struck me."[4] At Walsall the roughs "dragged me along till we came to the town, where seeing a door open I attempted to go in; but a man catching me by the hair, pulled me back: one man struck me on the breast with all his might, and another on the mouth with such force that blood gushed out immediately."[5] Whitefield's experience was just the same. Pelted with eggs at Moorfields and Marylebone, struck down by a stone when preaching at Exeter, by a sod in Staffordshire, by a cudgel at Basingstoke, pelted with stones at Oxmanton Green, till he was "all over a gore of blood" —more than once he was in peril of his life.

Persecution.

But in spite of opposition their success was startling and immediate. Wherever they went they gathered scores of devoted followers around them, and soon their work began to change the face of all England. This was at first undoubtedly due to the power of their preaching. They struck quite a new note. They

Whitefield's Preaching.

[1] August 25, 1748. [2] April 24, 1752. [3] February 22, 1746.
[4] July 25, 1747. [5] October 20, 1743.

revived what the French call *la prédication de conquête.* That is to say, they did not preach merely to give advice, nor to make a good impression which might bear fruit some day. Their aim was to conquer, to compel men then and there to renounce sin and to seek for pardon at the Cross of Christ. Whitefield, with his deep melodious voice of wonderful carrying power, his flashing eyes and trembling lips and great gift of rhetoric, was designed by nature to be the orator of the movement. He simply revelled in open-air preaching—"There is no pulpit like a mount: no sounding-board like heaven."—and wherever he went men flocked in their thousands to hear him. Nothing like it had been seen in Christendom since the days of Peter the Hermit. The most cultured unbelievers felt his influence as strongly as the Kingswood colliers. "I happened to attend one of his sermons," wrote that shrewd free-thinker, Benjamin Franklin,[1] "in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the copper. Another stroke in his oratory determined me to give the silver, and he finished so admirably that I emptied my pockets into the collector's dish." His chief work lay on the other side of the Atlantic, but such was the influence of his preaching tours, when he visited this country,

[1] *Memoirs of Benjamin Franklin*, I, 85.

that the outside world long regarded him as the real leader of the movement.

Wesley's Preaching.

John Wesley's preaching was of quite a different type. He had all the scholar's scorn of rhetoric and exaggeration. He spoke in quiet level tones and short direct sentences. At first he read over his sermons to an old maid-servant, crossing out every phrase which Betty could not understand, and so he taught himself to use simple Saxon words, and a style so terse and luminous and clear that it produced results even more sensational than those of Whitefield's oratory. His meetings were often disturbed by strange hysterical seizures. There were always men and women in the crowd whose power of self-control was weakened by years of sin, and, as his quiet searching words found their way to the heart, the most terrible outbreaks of physical anguish occurred with distressing frequency. The earlier part of the *Journal* is full of entries like these: "One before me dropped as dead, and presently a second, and a third. Five others sunk down in half an hour, most of whom were in violent agonies."[1] "Some sunk down and there remained no strength in them: others exceedingly trembled and quaked: some were torn by a kind of convulsion in every part of their bodies, and that so violently that four or five persons could not hold one of them."[2] But though

[1] June 22, 1739.

[2] June 15, 1739. Cf. also entries for April 17, 26; May 1, 12, 21; June 16; July 1, 7, 30.

sadly troubled and perplexed, he never allowed these interruptions to turn him aside from his purpose.

The Lay Preachers.

Charles Wesley also, until he married, was a most effective preacher, as hard-working and hard-riding an itinerant as his brother. Other clergymen joined the movement, and helped according to their power. But the work grew with such rapidity that the leaders could not respond to the calls made upon them, especially as Whitefield gave more than half his time to America. Then Wesley with much hesitation took another step, which gave grievous offence to old-fashioned Churchmen. The fields were white, the labourers were few, and he had earnest men around him who were able to give in their own rough way a most effective reason for the faith that was in them, and at last he was persuaded to allow them to help in the preaching. He took care to defend his action by a great array of precedents. In the Primitive Church laymen might preach, as he proved by quotations from the Fathers. In the Pre-Reformation Church many of the preaching friars were laymen. At the time of the Reformation lay preaching was specially authorised in the Church of England. But the real answer to all criticism was the work which these men accomplished. A few fell away—some into heresy, others into sin—but the majority proved themselves true heroes of the Cross. Up and down the country they rode in all kinds of weather, with all their belongings—wardrobe and library—in their saddle-bags, sometimes imprisoned as vagrants,

sometimes ducked in the horse-pond, sometimes seized by the press-gang, constantly pelted with stones and filth, and chased by furious mobs, facing every danger in the spirit of John Nelson, one of the first of their number, who when warned that a crowd was waiting to kill him, replied with a smile, "They must ask my Father's permission first; for, if He has any more work for me to do, all the men in the town cannot kill me till I have done it."

But preaching alone was not enough. What was to happen to the converts when the preachers passed on to other villages? It was impossible to leave them to the care of the parochial clergy of that day. So Wesley decided on another plan, which he could adopt without infringing any point of Church Order. As far back as 1677, during the brief Church revival which followed the Restoration, Dr. Beveridge, Vicar of Ealing, and Dr. Horneck, preacher at the Savoy, founded a number of young men's societies,[1] whose rule it was "to meet together once a week, and to apply themselves to things, wherein they might edify one another." They were encouraged by the Church authorities, and spread very rapidly, and though by the middle of the eighteenth century they had lost most of their vigour, they still existed in many of the town parishes. It was at a meeting of this kind that Wesley had been converted, and he now decided to form his converts into similar societies. He was

The Societies.

[1] See Woodward's *Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies.*

eager to point out that he was proposing no innovation. He was only developing an organization already accepted by the Church. Members of his societies were to be regular in their attendance at church and at the Lord's table, even when they did not approve of the minister's life or doctrine. Once a week they were to meet by themselves to sing and pray together, and to help one another in their religious life. "It can scarcely be conceived," wrote Wesley,[1] "what advantages have been reaped from this little prudential regulation. Many now happily experienced that Christian fellowship, of which they had not so much as an idea before. They began to bear one another's burdens, and naturally to care for one another." "Evil men were detected and reproved: if they forsook their sins, we received them gladly: if they obstinately persisted therein, it was openly declared that they were not of us. The rest mourned and prayed for them, and then rejoiced that, so far as in us lay, the scandal was rolled away from the Society."[2] It was always one of Wesley's axioms, "The Bible knows nothing of a solitary religion."[3]

The Hymns.

Open-air preaching and the gathering of converts into little societies—these were the two main features of the movement; but something still was lacking. You may gather an army and drill it well, but it needs the inspiration of music before it will march to victory. Since the days

[1] *A Plain Account of the People called Methodists*, § 7.
[2] *Ibid.*, § 4. [3] Cf. *Sermon* XXIV.

when Arius sang his heresy into the hearts of the Alexandrians, every great religious teacher has recognised the truth of the words, "Let me make the songs of the people, and I care not who makes their laws"; but no movement has been more happy in its singers than the Methodist revival. If Whitefield was the orator and John Wesley the organizer of the movement, Charles Wesley's chief work was as the writer of its hymns. He published more than six thousand, and among them are some of the very best in the English language:—

"Jesu, Lover of my soul."
"Come, oh Thou Traveller unknown."
"Oh, for a heart to praise my God."
"Lo, He comes with clouds descending."
"Hark, how all the welkin rings."
"Christ the Lord is risen to-day."
"Hail the day that sees Him rise."
"Come let us join our friends above."
"Oh, for a thousand tongues to sing."
"Love Divine, all love excelling."
"Christ, Whose glory fills the skies."
"Rejoice, the Lord is King."
"Soldiers of Christ arise."

Nor was he alone in his work. Toplady's "Rock of Ages," Cennick's "Children of the Heavenly King," Perronet's "All hail the power of Jesus' Name," Oliver's "The God of Abram praise," Shirley's "Sweet the moments rich in blessing," and Williams' "Guide me, O Thou Great Jehovah," show

how rich the revival was in hymn writers. So that when John Wesley sat down to compile a hymn book which should contain "no doggerel, nothing put in to patch up the rhyme, no feeble expletives, no cant expressions,"[1] a book which should persuade "the critic to turn Christian rather than the Christian to turn critic,"[2] he found plenty of good material ready to his hand.

He regarded his *Hymn Book* as a creed, "a body of practical and experimental divinity,"[3] which the poorest and most unlettered of his people would gradually learn by heart. What were the doctrines which the Methodists worked so hard to teach? Their chief object was to proclaim the Gospel of Salvation, the forgotten Gospel, the Good News that Salvation was possible. Man is guilty, man is immortal, Salvation is possible. These were the three great truths around which most of their teaching was twined. "And by Salvation," wrote Wesley,[4] "I mean not merely deliverance from hell, but a present deliverance from sin, a restoration of the soul to its primitive health, a recovery of the Divine Nature." When asked how this happy condition could be gained, their answer was, "By Faith." "Expect it by Faith, expect it as you are, expect it now." To the further question, "What is Faith?" their first answer was an attempt to clear away mis-

Doctrines of the Revival.

[1] Preface to *Hymn Book*.
[2] *Letter* printed by Tyerman, II, 282.
[3] Preface to *Hymn Book*, 1780.
[4] *Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, § 3.

conceptions. It is "not an opinion," wrote Wesley,[1] "nor any number of opinions put together, be they ever so true. A string of opinions is no more Christian faith than a string of beads is Christian holiness. It is not an assent to any opinion, or to any number of opinions. A man may assent to three or three-and-twenty creeds, and yet have no Christian faith at all." The true answer was found in the words of the Church of England homily,[2] which the Methodists took through the whole mission as their definition of faith:—"A sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that, through the merits of Christ, his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God." But how can this kind of faith be obtained? Only through the influence of the Holy Spirit on the human heart. Again we quote Wesley:[3] "When we urge any to believe, we mean, Accept that faith which God is now ready to give. Believing is the act of man, but it is the gift of God: for no one ever did believe, unless God gave him the power." So their aim was to bring their hearers into a state of earnest expectant prayer for that gift of faith, that sure trust and confidence in God and in the victory of Christ, which should kill the evil in them, and save them from their sins.

[1] *Letter to Dr. Middleton*, VI, ii, 5.

[2] *The Sermon of Salvation*, Part III. Quoted by Wesley, *Earnest Appeal*, § 59, § 78. *Principles of a Methodist*, VI, 5. *Advice to the People called Methodists*. Sermon, *On the Marks of the New Birth*, etc.

[3] *Letter* DCCCXVI. To Mr. T. Lessey.

Author of Faith, to Thee I cry,
To Thee, Who wouldest not have me die,
But know the truth and live;
Open my eyes to see Thy Face,
Work in my heart the saving grace,
The life eternal give.[1]

The Results.

Whatever theologians may write in their studies, in every village of England the Methodists proved their doctrine to be true, demonstrated it by the unanswerable testimony of wonderfully-changed lives, showing that even for the most degraded a present salvation was possible, and that it might be attained by the methods which they were accustomed to use. Competent historians of every creed are unanimous on this point. Mr. Lecky, a purely secular witness, emphatically declares,[2] "The doctrines the Methodist teacher taught, the theory of life he enforced, proved themselves capable of arousing in great masses of men an enthusiasm of piety which was hardly surpassed in the first days of Christianity, of eradicating inveterate vice, of fixing and directing impulsive and tempestuous natures that were rapidly hastening towards the abyss. Methodism planted a fervid and enduring religious sentiment in the midst of the most brutal and neglected portions of the population." Mr. Justin M'Carthy, speaking as a Roman Catholic, says,[3] "Many of us are unable to have any sympathy with the doctrines which Wesley

[1] Wesley's *Hymns*, 118.
[2] *History of England in Eighteenth Century*, II, 600.
[3] *History of the Four Georges*, II, 192.

taught, but the man must have no religious feeling of any kind who does not recognise the unspeakable value of the great reforms which he and Whitefield introduced. They inspired the souls of poor and commonplace creatures with all the zealot's fire and all the martyr's endurance. They pierced through the dull, vulgar, contaminated hideousness of low and vicious life, and sent streaming in upon it the light of a higher world and a brighter law." Canon Overton, the candid High Churchman, writes,[1] "Of the faith which enabled a man to abandon the cherished habits of a lifetime, and to go forth ready to spend and be spent in his Master's service, which made the selfish man self-denying, the discontented happy, the worldling spiritually-minded, the drunkard sober, the sensual chaste, the liar truthful, the proud humble, the godless godly, the thriftless thrifty, we can only judge by the fruits which it bore. That such fruits were borne is surely undeniable."

The Calvinist Controversy.

But there was one doctrine on which the Methodists themselves were divided. The old insoluble problem of Election, which in days gone by had divided Augustinian from Pelagian, Thomist from Scotist, Jansenist from Jesuit, Calvinist from Arminian, now sprang up to separate these devoted mission preachers. Whitefield on his long voyages to America read the writings of the Puritans, and was led to adopt a strongly Calvinistic position. It fitted in so well with his own experience. In the old days in the Bell Inn

[1] *The Evangelical Revival*, 131.

he was only one of a crowd of sordid commonplace sinners. How came it that he had been raised to such a glorious salvation? He could not believe that it was due to anything he had done. It could be nothing but the Electing Hand of God. To Wesley, on the other hand, the doctrine of Election appeared quite incredible. For one thing it seemed to make preaching sheer waste of time: it was needless to preach to those who must inevitably be saved, and useless to preach to those who must inevitably be lost. So long as the discussion lay between the two leaders, it was kept on a high level, and little harm was done. "I think I had rather die," wrote Whitefield,[1] "than see a division between us." But soon smaller men began to stir. A preacher named Acourt openly declared, "A certain number is elected from eternity. These must and shall be saved. The rest of mankind must and shall be damned";[2] and Wesley felt bound to preach and publish his sermon on Free Grace (1739), in which he absolutely repudiates the Calvinist doctrine as a horrible blasphemy, which makes God worse than the devil, for it teaches that He has condemned millions to eternal fire for sins which they could not avoid, because He withheld His grace. A division was now inevitable, but curiously enough it was thirty years (1770) before the crisis came. Then for a time the controversy raged with perfectly amazing fury. The *odium theologicum* is the most exasperating and noisy thing in the world.

[1] Letter, June, 1740, *Works*, I, 185.
[2] Wesley's *Journal*, June 19, 1740.

Each party seemed to the other to be uttering atrocious blasphemies. The leaders were alienated; the world scoffed at the reams of angry pamphlets; and for a time the whole future of the mission seemed to be imperilled. But happily before long the storm blew itself out; better feelings began to prevail; and although the two sections never quite came together again, they continued to work side by side in perfect harmony.

The Wesleys as Churchmen.

One point about this mission must again be emphasized; it was at first entirely a Church of England movement. Its leaders were all clergymen. To the end they were constantly preaching in churches as well as in the fields. Their devotion to the National Church was indeed remarkable. This might be illustrated by pages of extracts from John Wesley's writings. "If ever the Methodists were to leave the Church, I must leave them," he wrote in 1783;[1] and still more emphatically in 1787,[2] "When the Methodists leave the Church of England, God will leave them," and again in his dying manifesto in 1790,[3] "I never had any design of separating from the Church. I have no such design now. I do not believe the Methodists in general design it, when I am no more. I live and die a member of the Church of England, and none who regard my judgement or advice will ever separate from it." Charles Wesley's Churchmanship was even

[1] Letter printed by Tyerman, III, 391.
[2] Letter printed by Tyerman, III, 490.
[3] Article in *Arminian Magazine*, April, 1790.

stronger than his brother's. As he travels from place to place his *Journal* is full of entries such as these: "I did not forget to confirm the brethren in their calling, that is, to live and die in the Church of England."[1] "I strongly exhorted the Society to continue steadfast in fellowship with each other and the whole Church of England."[2] "I warned them of the wiles of the devil, whereby he would draw them away from the Church and other means of grace";[3] and at his death he refused to be buried in the City Road Preaching House. "I have lived and I die in the communion of the Church of England. I will be buried in the yard of my Parish Church."[4]

Clerical Opposition.

It is curious to speculate what would have happened if the wish of the leaders had been fulfilled. Methodism claims to have thirty million adherents at the present day. How strong would be the position of the Church, if all these were her members, and how overwhelmingly strong the Evangelical Party! But, alas! a majority of the converts of the Revival gradually drifted into the position of Dissenters. How did this happen? The first cause was the bitter hostility of most of the parochial clergy. A glance through the tracts of the period will give us examples enough. Here is one by John Kirkby, Rector of Blackmanstone, Kent, *A Full Discovery of the horrid Blasphemies taught*

[1] Charles Wesley's *Journal*, September 18, 1756.
[2] *Ibid.*, October 7, 1756.
[3] *Ibid.*, October 18, 1756.
[4] Letter quoted by Tyerman, Vol. III, p. 529.

by those Diabolical Seducers called Methodists, and another by John Downes, Rector of St. Michael, Wood Street, *The Full Portrait of that Frightful Monster called Methodism*, from which we learn that "their doctrines coincide with the rankest heresies that ever defiled the Church, particularly those of the Simonians, Gnostics, Valentinians, Donatists, Montanists and Antinomians." In one[1] the Vicar of Wymeswould proves that the Methodists are really Mohammedans. In another[2] the Vicar of Dewsbury describes them as "furious disciples of Antichrist, reverend scavengers, filthy pests and plagues of mankind." The Bishops rushed in to join the fray, Bishop Lavington[3] proving from the Eleusinian mysteries that Methodism was the work of some evil spirit, and Bishop Warburton[4] warning every one that Wesley was a wily and malignant hypocrite. The pulpits everywhere rang with the most extraordinary charges. Wesley had been expelled from Oxford for gross immorality; he had been recognised celebrating Mass in a church in Paris; he was a Jesuit in disguise, or a paid agent of the Pretender, or a traitor secretly raising troops for the King of Spain. Whitefield was an anarchist stealthily plotting a bloody revolution, a sleek scoundrel making fabulous sums by his preaching, an atheist using religion as a cloak for fraudulent

[1] *A Dissertation on Enthusiasm*, by Thos. Green, Vicar of Wymeswould, Leicestershire, 1755.

[2] *The Imposture of Methodism Displayed*, by Wm. Bowman, Vicar of Dewsbury, 1740.

[3] *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared*, 1749.

[4] *The Doctrine of Grace*, 1762.

land speculations. Nor was the opposition by any means confined to words. The church bells were constantly rung to drown the preacher's voice. One clergyman placarded Devizes with bills announcing "an obnubilative[1] pantomime" at the place where Wesley was to preach; another advertised "the noble sport of bear-baiting," the suggestion being that the mob should use Wesley as the bear. During the terrible Staffordshire riots the Vicar of Wednesbury gave notice by the public crier that the Methodists must either renounce the Society or have their houses demolished. The curate of Colne, Lancashire, issued the following proclamation: "If any man be mindful to enlist under the command of the Rev. George White for the defence of the Church of England, let him repair to the cross, where he shall have a pint of ale in advance and other proper encouragements,"[2] and the mob that he raised pelted Wesley with stones, rolled his companions in the mud, and dragged one through the street by his hair, inflicting injuries from which he never recovered. It cannot have been easy to work loyally and heartily with clergy such as these.

The second reason was the legal status of the preaching-houses. Wherever a society was formed it became necessary to hire a room in which its members could meet. As the membership grew, a larger building became necessary, and so gradually the whole land became covered with preaching-houses. They were

The Problem of the Preaching-Houses.

[1] Clouding the mind, bewildering.

[2] Myles' *Life of Grimshaw*, 114.

never intended to be rivals of the parish church—no meetings were allowed during the hours of service—but their position was clearly anomalous, and before long their enemies recognised this. One day (1760) the Methodists in the village of Rolvenden, Kent, were arrested and fined, under the old Act for the Suppression of Conventicles, because they were meeting in an unlicensed chapel. But the only way in which they could get their chapel licensed was by taking advantage of another Act "for exempting Protestant Dissenters from the penalties of certain laws." This step Wesley was naturally very loth to take, but in the existing state of the law there was nothing else to be done, and at last very reluctantly he gave his permission. This was a real, though involuntary, breach with the Church. It alienated many of the clergy who had been working with him. Grimshaw, for example, wrote, more in sorrow than in anger, "This licensing is a matter I never expected to have seen. They are no longer members of the Church of England. It is time for me to disown all connexion with them."[1]

Wesley's Ordinations.

But the really decisive act of schism was the first ordination. Wesley had long been grieving over the condition of the Church in America, which was then a vast, unvisited, and neglected fragment of the diocese of London. The S.P.G. had often petitioned for an American bishop, but Walpole always refused to do anything which

[1] Letter, 31 March, 1760, printed in Jackson's *Life of C. Wesley*, II, 191.

might strengthen the power of the Church. Then came the War of Independence: most of the clergy sided with the loyalists, and had to fly from the country: the S.P.G. withdrew its missionaries from the revolted colonies: and so thousands of Methodists, converted under Whitefield's preaching, who all regarded themselves as loyal members of the Church, were left with no one to baptise their children, or to administer the Holy Communion, for, of course, lay preachers were not allowed to do either. Wesley approached the Bishop of London, asking him to ordain two men for the American Methodists, but without success. So then he decided on the step which his brother and many of his wisest friends recognised as his greatest mistake. Nearly forty years before[1] he had come to the conclusion that "bishop" and "elder" in the New Testament are only different names for the same officer, a view which many scholars have held from St. Jerome to Bishop Lightfoot: "I firmly believe that I am a Scriptural *episcopos*," he said,[2] "as much as any man in England." For long this remained nothing but a pious opinion, but now the time seemed to have come to assert his episcopal powers; since the Bishop of London would do nothing, Bishop Wesley must step into the breach and ordain the ministers who were needed. But other engagements made it impossible for him to cross the Atlantic, and so he turned to Dr. Coke, one of the most energetic of his clerical

[1] *Journal*, January 20, 1746.

[2] Letter to Charles Wesley, 1785, printed by Tyerman, III, 445.

helpers, and urged him to go in his place and ordain all who were worthy. The ardent little Welshman was staggered at the request, and shut himself up for two months to study the question in the Fathers, but at last he consented to be set apart by the laying on of hands as Superintendent of the American Methodists (1784). "The case is widely different," wrote Wesley,[1] "between England and North America. Here there are Bishops who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none, neither any parish ministers. There I conceive myself at full liberty, as I violate no order and invade no man's right by appointing and sending labourers into the harvest. If any one will point out a more rational and Scriptural way of feeding and guiding these poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it." But although he doggedly closed his eyes to the fact, this was a definite act of separation from the Church. No society with privately ordained ministers can be recognised as part of an Episcopal Church. And the pity of it all is that it was quite unnecessary. Within two months of the setting apart of Dr. Coke a real Bishop had been regularly consecrated for America, who would have been willing to ordain any of the preachers who were properly qualified. When once the Rubicon was crossed, other ordinations followed. Three lay readers were ordained (1785) to administer the Sacraments in Scotland, where the Kirk excluded Methodists from the Lord's Table: others were ordained (1786) for Ireland and the West Indies.

[1] Letter to Dr. Coke, *Works*, Vol. XIII.

Last of all, three were ordained (1789) to act in England. From that time onward Methodism became a force outside the Church, steadily approaching nearer and nearer the other dissenting bodies.

FOR FURTHER STUDY. Wesley's *Journal.* Tyerman's *Life and Times of Wesley.* Overton's *Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century.* Simon's *Revival of Religion in the Eighteenth Century.* Hood's *Vignettes of the Revival of the Eighteenth Century.* Lives of Wesley by Southey, Overton, Julia Wedgwood, R. Green, Fitchett, Rigg, Telford, Lelievre. Gledstone's *George Whitefield, Field-preacher.* Tyerman's *Life of Whitefield.* Jackson's *Life of Charles Wesley. Lives of Early Methodist Preachers*, written by themselves. *Dictionary of National Biography*—Articles: T. Coke, C. and J. Wesley, Whitefield.

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY EVANGELICALS

"*He calleth unto Him whom He would, and they came unto Him.*"

QUITE early in the Revival, long before the point of ordination had been raised, the forces began to fall apart into two divisions. On one side were those who were slowly drifting into the position of a sect; on the other, those who in spite of discouragement were steadily loyal to the Church; and by degrees the name Methodist became confined to the seceders, while the others were known as Evangelicals.[1] It was not always easy to say on which side of the dividing line a particular individual must

Methodists and Evangelicals.

[1] This, like "Methodist," was an old name revived. It had been the earliest word in English for adherents of the Reformation, e.g. "Those Evaungelicalles theimself cease not to pursue and punishe their bretherne" (Sir T. More, 1531). Who first applied it to those clergy who taught the doctrines of the Revival was later a matter of dispute; cf. Pearson's *Life of Hey*: "To men thus orthodox do a certain number of their clerical brethren apply the epithet of Evangelical ministers as a term of reproach"; and *Antijacobin Review*, 1799: "Those who arrogate to themselves the title of Evangelical preachers." Apparently the word was first applied to their doctrines; Evangelical teaching was something obviously different from the fashionable teaching of morality. Then it became applied to those who preached the Gospel; cf. Letter from Haweis to Walker, 1759 (quoted in Sidney's *Life of Walker*, p. 479): "Talbot took his living with a view to do good, before he could be at all said to be evangelical." Toplady's *Letter to Wesley*, 1770: "You complain that the Evangelical clergy are leaving no stone unturned to raise John Calvin's ghost."

be placed, but the simplest test was his attitude towards the parochial system. All the Methodists, like their leader, claimed the world as their parish; they would not hear of confining themselves to work in a single village. The Evangelicals, on the other hand, were in danger of making the parish their world. Many of them strongly disapproved of the itinerant system, and even those who itinerated most always put their parish work on a higher level. "I wish well to irregulars and itinerants," wrote John Newton,[1] "I am content that they should labour that way who have not talents to support the character of a parochial minister; but I think you are qualified for more important service." Even Berridge, who was always in trouble for invading other men's parishes, wrote,[2] "All marching officers are not general officers, and every one should search out the extent of his commission. A minister who has a church will have a diocese annexed to it, and is only overseer of that diocese; and let him, like faithful Grimshaw, look well to it."

(a) IN LONDON

In London the Evangelicals at first were very weak. The Methodists were well provided with buildings. Whitefield had his tabernacle at Moorfields and his chapel in Tottenham Court Road. Wesley had the Foundry and many chapels in other quarters of the city. But

William Romaine.

[1] Fifth Letter to Mr. C., *Works*, Vol. II, p. 168.

[2] Letter to Lady Huntingdon, *Letters*, LXVII.

for long the Evangelicals had not a single church. Their leader was William Romaine, a grave, scholarly man, who, while in his first curacy, had brought out a revised edition of Calasio's *Hebrew Lexicon*, a work of enormous labour, which was subscribed for by all the crowned heads of Europe. On the strength of this he had come to London looking for honours and promotion, "a very, very vain young man"—so he described his condition[1]—"who knew almost everything but himself, and met with many disappointments to his pride, till the Lord was pleased to let him see the plague of his own heart." Here in some way that is not recorded the Revival touched him, and he gave the best possible proof of his conversion by taking his stand openly with the despised Evangelicals, though he knew that this meant the renunciation of all his hopes of preferment. His only regular appointment at this time (1749) was an afternoon Lectureship at St. Dunstan's, the famous old church in Fleet Street, where Tyndale had proclaimed the doctrines of the Reformation. Here for nine years he preached without interruption; but in 1758 the vicar died, and Alexander Jacob, his successor, strongly disapproved of the lecturer's doctrine. The churchwardens also had a grievance. "Great crowds of people," they declared,[2] "not parishioners, have been accustomed to assemble about the church every Sunday afternoon more than an hour before the opening of the doors, when Mr. Romaine was

[1] Letter to a friend, *Works*, VIII, 188.

[2] *Churchwardens' Affidavit*, Rex *v.* Jacob, May, 1760.

expected to preach, and to fill the aisles and pews as soon as the doors were opened, preventing the parishioners getting to their seats, and this crowd for two years past has been continually increasing." So the vicar and wardens determined to make an attempt to silence him. On consulting the founder's will they discovered that the money had been left for Lectures to be given while the courts were sitting; so on the first Sunday of the Long Vacation they met Romaine at the door, and informed him that he could not preach. On the first Sunday in the Michaelmas term a fresh surprise awaited him: he found the pulpit door locked, the vicar sitting in the pulpit, and the beadle sitting on the stairs, and he was told that the time of his Lecture had been changed to seven in the evening. His friends then took the case before the King's Bench, asking for a mandamus to restore the Lecture to its usual hour, and to allow it to continue all the year round, but the court decided that the vicar had acted within his legal rights. The churchwardens then declined to light or warm the church, or to open the doors a minute before the hour of the service, and preacher and congregation had to wait in the street till the wooden giants on the tower had beaten out the hour of seven, and then grope their way cautiously to their seats. This was the only Evangelical service in any of the city churches, and very solemn and impressive it must have been, the crowded congregation sitting or standing in perfect darkness, while Romaine preached by the light of a taper which he held in his

hand. This continued for several years, till at last the Bishop interfered, and compelled the churchwardens to make proper arrangements. For forty-six years Romaine held this lectureship, and St. Dunstan's became the rallying point for Evangelicalism in London; but though he was now acknowledged to be the leading preacher in the city—people came from the country "to see Garrick act and hear Romaine preach"—though his manner was very grave and decorous, and his character above reproach, yet for seventeen years he failed to obtain any other permanent appointment. For a short time he was morning preacher at St. George's, Hanover Square, then at St. Olave's, Southwark, then at St. Bartholomew-the-Great, but in each case the prejudice against his teaching and against the crowds who flocked to hear him was so strong that he could not stay. Friends urged him to give up the struggle; he was offered important churches in America, but he would not go. "Here my Master fixed me," he said,[1] "and here I must stay. I am alone in London, and while He keeps me there, I dare not move." At last (1764) his patience was rewarded. The parishioners of St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe with St. Anne, Blackfriars, had the right of electing their rector, and though he declined to canvass, the choice fell upon him. Here he worked for the last thirty years of his life, holding his own Sunday services in the morning and afternoon, and still walking to St. Dunstan's for the evening lecture. Meanwhile his three best-known

[1] Letter printed in Haweis' *Life of Romaine.*

books—*The Life of Faith* (1763), *The Walk of Faith* (1771), and *The Triumph of Faith* (1795)—were influencing thoughtful men in all parts of the country; and this influence was due quite as much to his life as his words. "He lived," wrote his first biographer,[1] "more with God than with men, and to know his real history, or the best part of it, it would be requisite to know what passed between God and his soul." He died in 1795, and was succeeded by his curate, William Goode, who held the living till his death in 1816.

During all the earlier part of Romaine's ministry his only sympathizers among the London clergy were two quite young men. Thomas Jones —"the seraphic Mr. Jones" his admirers used to call him—was junior chaplain of St. Saviour's, Southwark (1753–62); and, indeed, without his unfailing good temper he could not have stayed at his post. For nine years he had to endure a bitter persecution; his teaching was denounced, his sermons were caricatured, his personal character vilified in a never-ending stream of controversial tracts, and he died at the age of thirty-three worn out with the struggle. From 1754 to 1759 Henry Venn was curate of the village of Clapham, and four times a week he rode into London to lecture at St. Antholin's, St. Alban's, Wood Street, and St. Swithin's, London Stone. On going to Clapham he had written to Wesley for advice, and two years later he had been present at the Methodist

Thomas Jones.

Henry Venn.

[1] Cadogan's *Life of Romaine*, p. 73. 1796.

Conference at Bristol, but up to this time his views were not quite settled. In the autumn of 1757 Lady Huntingdon invited him to undertake a preaching tour with Whitefield in the western counties, but at the end she was not satisfied with the doctrine that he taught. "O friend," she wrote,[1] "we can make no atonement to a violated law; we have no inward holiness of our own: the Lord Jesus Christ is the Lord our Righteousness. Cling not to such beggarly elements, mere cobwebs of Pharisaic pride, but look to Him who hath wrought out a perfect righteousness for His people." This letter seems to have made him seriously think out his position, and, after further intercourse with Whitefield, he obtained a firm grasp of the doctrines of Redemption. When Walker of Truro visited him a few months later he described him[2] as "a London clergyman, till of late a sort of dependent on John Wesley, but now brought to believe for himself. He is a man very desirable in his temper, humble and teachable." But his chief work was not done in London. In 1759 he was called to Huddersfield, where we shall meet him later.

Lady Huntingdon.

Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, whom we have just mentioned, was an earnest, strong-minded, imperious lady, daughter of one earl and widow of another, who devoted her whole life and fortune to the spread of the new teaching. The London churches might be closed to

[1] Quoted in *Life of Lady Huntingdon*, I, 225.

[2] Letter to Adam quoted in *Life of Walker*, 435.

Evangelical clergy, but her house was always open, and a countess might have as many private chaplains as she pleased, and if she cared to build a chapel in her grounds no one could say her nay. Romaine became her senior chaplain, and the Evangelical clergy in the country were always sure of a welcome whenever they came to London. "Good Lady Huntingdon," wrote Whitefield,[1] "goes on acting the part of a mother in Israel. Her house is indeed a Bethel. We have the Sacrament every morning, heavenly conversation all day, and preach at night. For a day or two she has had five clergymen under her roof." Her chief aim was to evangelize her own class in society, and her "spiritual routs," as the wits called them, soon became a recognised function in the fashionable world. No hostess in London was able to gather a more brilliant company of guests: the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cumberland, Lord North and the Earl of Chatham, Horace Walpole and Bubb Doddington, Lord Chesterfield and Lord Bolingbroke, the Duchess of Marlborough and Lady Suffolk, and indeed all the most illustrious men and women of the time, used to meet in her drawing-room to listen to her preachers; and, though much of the seed fell in very thorny places, some did bring forth fruit. The most important of her converts was the Earl of Dartmouth, the President of the Board of Trade and later Colonial Secretary. He was one of the most enlightened and cultured men of the day, patron of

[1] Letter printed in Tyerman's *Life of Whitefield*, Vol. II, p. 235.

Watt's inventions and President of the Royal Society, and, after his conversion in 1756, he made it his special work to help forward the movement by securing livings for Evangelical clergy: he it was who sent Venn to Huddersfield, Robinson to Leicester, Stillingfleet to Hotham, Powley to Dewsbury, and Newton to Olney.

Meanwhile Lady Huntingdon was extending her work to other fashionable centres. By the sale of her jewels she was able to add a chapel to her house at Brighton. Later she bought a house at Bath, so that she might be able to build a chapel there—that chapel with the famous "Nicodemus corner" heavily curtained off, where bishops and other retiring persons might hear without being seen. Then her house at Tunbridge Wells was supplied with a chapel also, and all these were served by her chaplains in rotation. Her plan was to invite the Evangelical clergy to minister for a month at a time, while she supplied a substitute for their own parishes. But, as the number of chapels increased, the time came when this was no longer possible, and she, like Wesley, had to fall back upon lay preachers. To train these she established a theological college at Trevecca, but this never became a help to the Church: for in her old age Lady Huntingdon passed over into the ranks of dissent. The trouble arose over the Conventicle Act, which was always a thorn in the side of the Evangelicals—fifty years later it prevented Simeon from opening his Cambridge Bible-class with prayer. A large theatre surrounded by pleasure gardens had

been opened in Clerkenwell for Sunday entertainments, and to stop this Lord Dartmouth and others bought the whole building, and determined to use it for mission services. They presented it to Lady Huntingdon in order that her chaplains might officiate; but this was on quite a different footing from a chapel in a private house, and the law at once interfered. The only way to make the services legal was to license the building as a dissenting chapel, and Lady Huntingdon, whose weakest point was inability to brook the smallest interference with her plans, rather than stop the services, chose this alternative (1782). All the Evangelical clergy resigned their chaplains' scarves, and she and her lay preachers became a separate body, which still survives as Lady Huntingdon's Connexion: but for thirty critical years her help and influence had been invaluable to the Evangelicals.

John Thornton.

Another generous friend of the movement was John Thornton, a director of the Russia Company, who was said to be the wealthiest merchant but one in Europe. Cowper has sung of his "industry in doing good," "restless as his who toils and sweats for food."[1] "Few," said Venn, "have ever done more to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and help all that suffer adversity";[2] and this was no exaggeration, for he spent at least £100,000 on works of charity. Nor did he limit his care to the bodies of men. "He purchased," said

[1] *In Memory of J. Thornton.*

[2] Letter quoted in *Life of H. Venn*, p. 482.

Richard Cecil,[1] "advowsons and presentations with a view to place in parishes the most enlightened, active, and useful ministers. He employed the extensive commerce in which he was engaged as a powerful instrument for conveying immense quantities of Bibles, Prayer Books, and the most useful publications to every place visited by our trade. He printed at his own sole expense large editions of the latter for that purpose, and it may be safely affirmed that there is scarcely a part of the known world, where such books could be introduced, which did not feel the salutary influence of this single individual." The best known of these books was his English edition of Bogatzky's *Golden Treasury*, from which he removed all extracts which seemed to verge on Moravianism, and substituted short meditations written by himself and his friends.[2] This rapidly became one of the most popular Evangelical books of devotion.

The Proprietary Chapels.

Among the laity the Evangelicals were steadily increasing their strength, but for thirteen years Romaine was the only representative of the party beneficed north of the Thames; and when Newton came to St. Mary Woolnoth, in 1779, for another twenty years these two remained alone, though south of the river Roger Bentley had been presented by Thornton to St. Giles', Camberwell (1769), and William Abdy, in 1782, be-

[1] Memoir of Newton, *Works*, Vol. I, p. 333.

[2] The copy which he sent to Berridge for correction, with the latter's very characteristic MS. notes and suggestions, is now in the C.M.S. Library.

came curate-in-charge of St. John's, Horsleydown. Evangelical preaching from the pulpit would have been almost silenced for a whole generation, if it had not been for the lectureships and the proprietary chapels. These latter were semi-private chapels, which the Bishops had allowed to be built, as the simplest way of coping with the increase of the population, at a time when the law put every obstacle in the way of forming fresh parishes. The lay proprietors were always allowed to choose their own minister, and now they began frequently to select Evangelical clergy, so that soon these chapels became strongholds of the new teaching. Such were St. John's, Bedford Row,[1] where the gentle Richard Cecil ministered (1780–1808), the most cultured and refined of all the Evangelical leaders, and Bentinck Chapel,[2] off the Edgware Road, where Basil Woodd (1785–1831) taught his people to finance almost every good cause in the country. Such were the Broadway Chapel,[3] Westminster, under John Davies, and Long Acre Chapel,[4] under Henry Foster, and Ram's Chapel,[5] Homerton. Of a similar character, too, was the Chapel of the Lock Hospital,[6] to which seat-holders were admitted as well as the patients.

[1] Now pulled down; it gave its name to Chapel Street, Lamb's Conduit Street.

[2] Now pulled down; it gave its name to Chapel Street, Edgware Road.

[3] Now Christ Church, Westminster.

[4] Now pulled down; it gave its name to Chapel Place, Long Acre.

[5] Still in use.

[6] Now removed; it gave its name to Chapel Street, Belgrave Square.

Here Martin Madan led many to the truth, before he fell away himself into a strange heresy. Here, too, Thomas Haweis ministered for many years, and the stately De Coetlogon gained his name as the greatest of extempore preachers, and Scott the commentator fought the fight of which we shall speak later.[1] Standing, as it did then, near Hyde Park Corner, this little chapel, half occupied by the most degraded sinners, was the chief representative of Evangelicalism in the fashionable West End.

The Lectureships.

But great as was the influence of the chapels, the influence of the lecturers was greater. Under the Stuarts the custom had arisen for pious benefactors to endow lectureships in their parish churches, in order to increase the opportunities for religious instruction. The parishioners might elect any clergyman whom the Bishop would license, and invite him to lecture once a week at an hour when the church was not required for a regular service. This enabled the Evangelicals to make their voices heard. George Pattrick, when he was dismissed from the chaplaincy of Morden College, because his sermons were said to "treat almost solely of faith and grace and such like controversial points,"[2] offered himself for a vacant lectureship at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, and in spite of his refusal to canvass, and the vehement opposition of the vicar and churchwardens, he was elected by 947 votes to

[1] See p. 118.

[2] Petition to trustees printed in Memoir prefixed to Pattrick's *Sermons*.

357, a result which illustrates the growing strength of Evangelicalism among the laity. Though "more of a Barnabas than a Boanerges,"[1] he proved to be one of the most effective preachers in the city: at six o'clock on Sunday morning he lectured at St. Margaret's, Lothbury; in the afternoon he lectured at Shoreditch, and in the evening at St. Bride's, Fleet Street, and wherever he went the church was always packed to the doors. Venn, as we have seen, when he was curate at Clapham, lectured at St. Antholin's, St. Alban's, Wood Street, and St. Swithin's, London Stone. William Gunn, Newton's curate, filled St. Mary, Somerset, and St. Margaret, Lothbury, for his weekly lectures. Watkins at St. Bartholomew-the-Great, Watts Wilkinson at St. Mary, Aldermary, and St. Bartholomew, Exchange, drew enormous congregations. Even those who had pulpits of their own used this opportunity also. Romaine kept his lectureship at St. Dunstan's till the day of his death. Abdy lectured at Bow Church for thirty-nine years, and for twenty-three at All Hallows; Foster lectured at St. Antholin, St. Swithin's, and St. Peter's, Cornhill; Scott at St. Mildred, Bread Street; Goode and Davies at St. Lawrence, Jewry; Cecil at Spitalfields. And so, as the century closes, we see the Evangelicals in London excluded from all but three of the livings, but, nevertheless, lecturing weekly from many important pulpits, and ministering to large congregations in proprietary chapels.

[1] Obituary notice, *Evangelical Magazine*, December, 1800.

The Eclectic Society was the chief means of keeping these scattered units in touch with one another. This was a club, founded in 1783, to which almost all the London Evangelical clergy belonged, two or three Evangelical laymen, including John Bacon the sculptor, and two evangelically-minded dissenting ministers. They met once a fortnight in Cecil's vestry to drink tea[1] and to discuss such questions as,—What is the best preparation for the pulpit? What is the best method of comforting afflicted consciences? How can we distinguish between true and counterfeit Christian experience? What is the best mode of conducting the visiting of the sick?[2] Here, at these informal gatherings, many matters were talked over, and, as we shall see later, some of the most important steps in the history of the party had their origin in the debates of this little society.

The Eclectic Society.

(b) IN THE NORTH

Evangelicalism established itself in the North comparatively early. Its home was Haworth, that lean, grey village on the top of the desolate moors, cut off from the rest of civilisation by miles of rolling heather—the Haworth where, in later days, the Brontës dreamed and died. It was one of the loneliest spots in England, but it held a man whose influence was felt through all the

Grimshaw of Haworth.

[1] Their silver teapot, sugar-tongs, and spoons are still to be seen in the library of the Church Missionary House.

[2] See Pratt's *Eclectic Notes*.

surrounding counties. William Grimshaw in his younger days was a typical parson of the period. He read prayers and a sermon once every Sunday. "He refrained as much as possible from gross swearing unless in suitable company, and, when he got drunk, would take care to sleep it out before he came home."[1] He was a huntsman, a fisherman, a first-rate card-player, anything but a herald of the Cross. Gradually, however, a great change came over his life; we need not trace the process. Parishioners' questions about their souls, which he could not answer; his wife's death; a copy of *Owen on Justification* picked up in a friend's library, all played their part; and by the time he came to Haworth in 1742, his old energies were directed into new channels; he was a mighty hunter still, but it was a hunter of souls.

He found a hard task waiting for him there. At the best of times the West Riding character is by no means easy to mould. Thick-thewed and slow of speech and sullenly suspicious of a stranger, gruff and stubborn and hating restraint, his little flock greeted him with their favourite motto, "Keep thyseln to thyseln." Moreover, in that parish there were peculiar difficulties. For three years the place had been without a clergyman, and before that there had been a scandal, which, even in those days, ended in his predecessor being suspended from the ministry. The village seemed to have lapsed into open heathenism. Every funeral had its "arvill," which

[1] Middleton, *Biographia Evangelica*, IV, 398.

was a drunken orgy, but there were no religious rites when the body was laid in the grave. Sunday was market day in Bradford, and those who did not go to market played football on the moors. The only element of religion in most of the people's lives was an ever-present fear of Barguest, the awful phantom dog, who prowled at night across the heather and had to be propitiated by many curious rites.

But the Haworth folk soon found that in the new parson they had a man as brawny, as fearless, as strong-willed as themselves. He let them know that the Sunday football matches must be stopped, and the most reckless lad in the village dared not disobey. He let them know that he expected to see them all in church, and somehow or other, when Sunday came, very few were absent. Let us watch him as he conducts the service. Reality is the key-note of his character. Nothing merely formal or conventional is tolerated for a moment. Moreover, he realises that the people before him are mere babes in religion. Before the prayers his eye sweeps the whole congregation, and woe to the man who is lounging forward and not on his knees—he is promptly rebuked by name. When he has satisfied himself that all are reverently kneeling, he begins to pray, and all contemporary authorities agree that to hear him was an experience never to be forgotten. "He was like a man with his feet on earth and his soul in heaven." "He would take hold of the very horns of the altar, which he would not let go till God had

given him the blessing."[1] Or listen to him as he reads the lessons, translating every difficult sentence into the broadest Yorkshire, and interspersing many homely comments of his own. The hymn before the sermon at Haworth is always a long one—sometimes they even have the 119th Psalm—for at this point in the service Grimshaw has business elsewhere. He takes his stout riding-crop down from the vestry wall and marches out of church. "It was his custom," wrote John Newton,[2] whose letters give the best picture of his friend's life, "to leave the church, while the psalm before sermon was singing, to see if any were idling their time in the churchyard, the street, or the ale-houses; and many of those whom he found he would drive into church before him. A friend of mine passing a public-house on a Lord's Day saw several persons jumping out of the windows and over a wall. He feared the house was on fire, but upon inquiring what was the cause of the commotion he was told that they saw the parson coming. They were more afraid of the parson than of a Justice of the Peace. His reproof was so authoritative and yet so mild and friendly, that the stoutest sinner could not stand before him." At last, when the customers of the "Black Bull" are safely within the fold, Grimshaw ascends the three-decker and takes his stand beneath the text, "I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus and Him crucified." Hot and strong the sermon comes, and hale with

[1] Middleton, *Biographia Evangelica*, IV, 403.
[2] *Letters to H. Foster*, Letter V.

uncompromising dogma, yet full of racy thrusts and the quiet dry humour which Yorkshiremen appreciate. His boast was that he always used to preach "in market language," and sometimes his unconventionalities offended his closest friends; but John Newton defends him.[1] "Frequently a sentence, which a delicate hearer might deem vulgar, conveyed an important truth to the ear and fixed it on the memory for years. I give my judgement on this point something in his own way—that is the best cat which catches the most mice."

Many of the leaders of the Revival, Whitefield and the two Wesleys, Venn and Romaine, preached from his pulpit at one time or another, but from all he exacted the same intense directness. On one occasion Whitefield began in his suave conciliatory way with a few remarks about the privileges they enjoyed in Haworth, but Grimshaw sprang to his feet at once in the reading-desk and cried, "For God's sake do not speak so. I pray you do not flatter them. The greater part of them are going to Hell with their eyes open."[2]

Many and various were the methods he devised for instructing his people. Excuses for non-church-going were utterly useless with him. Some pleaded their shabby clothes: for them he started a special service every Sunday evening. Others said that it was too far for them to walk to church: he promptly began barn services in the four outlying hamlets.

[1] Newton's *Letters to H. Foster*, Letter III.
[2] Newton's *Letters to H. Foster*, Letter VI.

The first Evangelicals always laid great stress on early rising: to them it was a necessary part of a methodical Christian life. No one who had learnt the value of time could possibly lie in bed after the sun was up, and daily service at five in the morning soon became the regular thing in many of their parishes. Grimshaw slowly taught his people to value this service too, and thus to begin each day's work with prayer. In addition to this he had what he called his monthly visitation. In twelve different parts of the parish he borrowed a farm-house kitchen, and he used to summon seven or eight of the families round to meet him. Every one was expected to be there—parents, servants, children—and he questioned them all as to their knowledge of the Christian faith, taught them where they were ignorant, rebuked them for anything in their conduct of which he disapproved, warned them of the temptations that would beset them during the next few weeks, and dismissed them with his blessing.

Sometimes the flock rebelled against this very strenuous shepherding. Though Sunday football was abandoned, yet romping on the moors began to take its place; but Grimshaw was not to be worsted. "He not only bore his testimony against it from the pulpit, but went in person to detect the delinquents. There was a spot at some distance from the village, where many young people used to assemble on Sundays in spite of all his warnings. At last he disguised himself one evening,"—rumour declares that he borrowed an old woman's skirt and shawl—

"that he might not be known till he was near enough to discover who they were. He then threw off his disguise and charged them not to move. He took down all their names, and ordered them to attend on him on a day and hour which he appointed. They all waited on him accordingly, as punctually as if they had been served with a warrant. After forming them into a circle and commanding them to kneel down, he prayed for them with much earnestness for a considerable time. After rising from his knees, he gave them a close and affecting lecture. He never had occasion to repeat this friendly discipline. He entirely broke the objectionable custom."

By these and a hundred other quite as original methods the rugged sinners of the moors were drilled into habits of decency and worship. The church soon proved too small for the congregation, and in 1757 it was enlarged, not by a rate, as was usual in those days, but by the freewill offerings of the people. But still it very often was not large enough. "I took horse for Haworth," wrote Wesley in his *Journal*.[2] "A December storm met us on the mountain, but this did not hinder such a congregation as the church could not contain. I suppose we had near a thousand communicants, and scarce a trifler among them. In the afternoon the church not containing more than a third of the people, I was constrained to be in the churchyard." Two years later he wrote again :[3] "The church would not near contain the congregation ; so

[1] Newton's *Letters to H. Foster*, Letter V.
[2] May 22, 1757. [3] July 22, 1759.

after prayers I stood on a scaffold close to the church, and the congregation in the churchyard. The communicants alone filled the church. In the afternoon the congregation was nearly doubled, and yet most of these were not curious hearers, but men fearing God." And again two years later:[1] "The church would not near contain the people; however, Mr. Grimshaw had provided for this by fixing a scaffold on the outside of one of the windows, through which I went after prayers, and the people likewise all went out into the churchyard. The afternoon congregation was larger still. What has God wrought in the midst of these rough mountains!" Whitefield on one occasion noted that thirty-five bottles of wine were needed for one administration of the Holy Communion.

Grimshaw was a strong Churchman—"I believe the Church of England," he said,[2] "to be the soundest, purest, most apostolical Christian Church in the world"—but he realised that the state of the country needed exceptional action, and so, unlike many of his brethren, he did not decline to itinerate. People began to come to his church from other villages round, and terrible tales were told of parishes that were utterly neglected, of absentee clergy and drunken clergy, and children growing up to manhood ignorant of the very elements of religion. The parochial system was designed to bring the Gospel to every man's door: it was never intended to be a means

[1] July 12, 1761.

[2] Letter printed in Hardy's *Life of Grimshaw*, 174.

of keeping the Gospel out. And so he rode boldly forth over his parish boundaries, preaching in barns and the open air, wherever he had a chance, working through the whole country from Leeds to Manchester. Twice some of his neighbours sent complaints to the Archbishop, but the latter on each occasion declined to interfere. "We cannot find fault with Mr. Grimshaw," he said,[1] "when he is instrumental in bringing so many to the Lord's Table"; and on the second occasion, when he came to Haworth to investigate things for himself, he exclaimed,[2] "Would to God that all my clergy were like this good man," which might almost be taken as episcopal sanction of his work.

Venn of Huddersfield.

A few hours' ride to the south was Huddersfield, to which Henry Venn had come (1759) when he left Clapham, in his quiet way as full of zeal as Parson Grimshaw himself. Modern writers have rather misunderstood his position: he certainly was not "the first evangelist of the modern slum," nor was Huddersfield then "a huge, dark, manufacturing town."[3] The Gazetteer still ranked it with the villages; though the parish included a large country district and several outlying hamlets, the population was only four thousand. Venn's work resembled Grimshaw's in many ways. Much of his time was spent on horseback, hunting out obscure parishioners in lonely farms and cottages. He drew the same enormous congregations, so that

[1] Hardy's *Life of Grimshaw*, 232.
[2] Strachan's *Life of George Lowe.*
[3] Even Ryle falls into this mistake. *Christian Leaders*, IX, ii.

often the church could not hold the people, and the sermon had to be preached in the open air. He took the same care to make the services real. He would begin with a short exhortation reminding the careless that they were standing in the presence of God: a few words of explanation accompanied the Psalms and Lessons: and when the time for the sermon came, he had the same gift of moving thousands to repentance and tears. But his best work was done outside his pulpit. "He was one of the most eminent examples," wrote Sir James Stephen,[1] "of one of the most uncommon of human excellencies, the possession of perfect and uninterrupted mental health." His common sense was sensible and sanctified in the highest degree, and shepherds and weavers, saints and sinners flocked to his study for advice. But behind all the good advice that he gave about farms or quarrels or marriages, there was always the deep desire to win the soul for God. "I wish you had known your grandfather," wrote Simeon long afterwards[2] to one of Venn's grandsons; "the only end for which he lived was to make all men see the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." But after eleven years the work broke him down. A hacking cough and spitting of blood made it impossible to preach, and his friends procured for him (1771) the little agricultural parish of Yelling, where the lighter work enabled him to recover his strength, and to labour on for twenty-six years more.

[1] *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*. "The Evangelical Succession."
[2] Letter to J. Venn, printed in Carus' *Life of Simeon*, chap. xxxi.

Meanwhile he had made his influence felt in every part of England by his pen, for his *Complete Duty of Man* became one of the most popular devotional books of the day. More than a century before, on the eve of the Restoration, there had appeared a treatise on *The Whole Duty of Man*. Its author's name was never known, but it sprang at once into a semi-official position. It was chained in churches for the people to read. It was made the basis of instruction in the charity schools. It was accepted as the recognised statement of sound and sober Church teaching. If we want to grasp the type of Churchmanship which prevailed in the eighteenth century, we can see it in all its strength and weakness in this rather unattractive little volume. It was written at the height of the reaction against the Puritan theology, and its author tries to reduce religion to its most prosaic elements. Everything emotional, everything speculative, all passionate yearnings after holiness and communion with the Unseen are relentlessly excluded as delusions. Every sensible person, we are told, ought to take care of his soul, for it is the most durable part of him, but to do so he must "act by the same rules of common reason, whereby he proceeds in his worldly business."[1] He must go to church, pay his tithes, keep the fasts, avoid drunkenness, and seek to do his duty as a neighbour, a master, and a son. Whitefield may be pardoned his exaggeration when he said that its author knew

"The Whole Duty" and "The Complete Duty."

[1] Preface to *The Whole Duty of Man*.

no more about Christianity than Mohammed. The Evangelicals were always pointing out the deficiencies of this book. Venn did something better; he provided a substitute. *The Complete Duty of Man* is just as practical as *The Whole Duty*. In his parish work he had learnt most of the average Churchman's difficulties. He deals with the duties of husband and wife, parents and children, masters and servants, neighbours and friends, the use of money, the sins of the flesh, the details of every-day life, but he deals with them in a very different spirit. "Christ the Law-Giver will always speak in vain, without Christ the Saviour is first known. All treatises to promote holiness must be deplorably defective, unless the Cross of Christ be laid as the foundation, constantly kept in view, and every duty enforced as having relation to the Redeemer."[1] "Duty first" is the message of the earlier book; "Christ the beginning and the end of all" is the message of the later; and by their fruits the two systems must be judged. No one would deny that the older school trained many upright men, the school in which Nelson learnt his great Trafalgar signal, but morally, spiritually England was perishing, and no man could find the remedy, until the Evangelical teaching swept through the land, revealing how sin could be conquered and duty consistently done.

The third great name in the North was that of Joseph Milner, Headmaster of Hull Grammar School and Afternoon Lecturer at the parish church, who

[1] *The Complete Duty of Man*, Preface.

to the horror of the Mayor and Corporation, about 1770, adopted Evangelical views after reading Hooker's sermon on Justification. At once his friends dropped him. For years, his brother tells us, "few persons who wore a tolerably good coat would take notice of him when they met him in the street";[1] but the largest church in England was thronged to the doors, whenever he entered the pulpit, "drunkards and debauchees were reformed, the care of the soul became the topic of common conversation, the sick sent for him to their chambers, and when he returned he found his house crowded with visitors who had come for spiritual advice: great numbers of the poor and of the middle classes became truly religious."[2] As a schoolmaster he also used his opportunities to the full, and the next generation of Evangelicals in Yorkshire was largely recruited from his pupils.

Joseph Milner.

But his fame chiefly rests on his *History of the Church of Christ*, one of the greatest books that the movement produced. Its idea was a very happy one. The Church historian as a rule devotes so much of his space to schisms and heresies and more or less unedifying squabbles, that the general impression left on the mind is that the Christians must have been most unpleasant and unreasonable people. Milner determined to write a history of the good which Christianity had

"History of the Church."

[1] "Life of the Author," by Isaac Milner, prefixed to J. Milner's *Practical Sermons*.

[2] *Ibid.*

accomplished; "genuine piety is the only thing which I intend to celebrate";[1] "a history of the perversions and abuses of religion is not a history of the Church; as absurd were it to suppose a history of the highwaymen to be a history of England."[2] His purpose was only to describe "the real followers of Christ," and to show how they had been the salt which kept each generation from corruption. To the modern reader the result is a little disappointing. A provincial schoolmaster living far from all great libraries could not hope to produce a work to rival that of Gibbon. But the book is no compilation: it is based throughout on original authorities; and it turned the attention of English readers to the almost forgotten writings of the early Fathers. He lived to carry his work from the Apostles to the middle of the thirteenth century, and his brother published two more volumes "on the plan and in part from the manuscripts" he had left.

Before his death Hull had become a strong Evangelical centre. "For many years past the clergy of the town," wrote his brother in 1800,[3] "have in general been very serious persons, and have lived in harmony with Mr. Milner both in doctrine and zeal. Some of them have been his pupils both in profane and sacred learning, and all of them looked up to him with reverence as a guide." "The town of Hull,"

[1] Introduction to *History of the Church of Christ.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] "Life of the Author," prefixed to J. Milner's *Practical Sermons.*

lamented Dr. Croft, the Bampton Lecturer, (1795),[1] "affords one unfortunate instance of their success, for all the churches there are occupied by these pretended favourites of heaven." The most prominent of the younger men were John King, who became Vicar of St. Mary's in 1771, and Thomas Dykes, who built St. John's (1791) for the dock labourers, and became the first incumbent.

Adam of Winteringham.

At Winteringham, on the Lincolnshire side of the Humber, Thomas Adam worked for fifty-eight years. He had come to the parish a wild young man of only twenty-four, who confessed that he had taken orders "more for the sake of worldly advantage than anything else."[2] But about 1745 he read Law's *Serious Call*, and felt so humbled and ashamed that for months he dared not enter the pulpit, and the people noticed how he trembled and wept as he read the prayers. For three years he struggled through the Slough of Despond, and then his burden rolled away as he read the Epistle to the Romans, and realised for the first time the meaning of the Cross. In 1753 he wrote his *Lectures on the Church Catechism*, which made his name known far beyond the borders of his parish, and men in all parts of the country began to turn to that distant Lincolnshire rectory for advice. John Thornton came all the way from Clapham to consult him; Venn sent the manuscript of the *Com-*

[1] *Thoughts concerning the Methodists and the Established Clergy*, p. 29.

[2] Letter to Walker, printed in *Life of Walker*, p. 336.

plete Duty to him for comment and criticism; Lord Dartmouth used to ask his opinion on any matter that puzzled him; and when Walker of Truro was troubled with scruples about the burial service, it was to far-off Winteringham that he rode to pour out his perplexity. What was the secret of his influence? We see it when we turn to those "Thoughts on Religion," which his friends extracted after his death from Adam's private diary: "Hell is truth seen too late."[1] "Heaven is wherever God is: in my heart if I desire it."[2] These are two of the aphorisms. This choice little book, which was never intended for any eye but his own, has fascinated men like Chalmers and Heber, Coleridge and John Stuart Mill, and still lives, though all its author's tomes of divinity are forgotten.

Other Yorkshire Clergy.

If we cross the Humber and return to Yorkshire, we find James Stillingfleet at Hotham, in whose well-stocked library Milner found the materials for his history. In York itself was William Richardson, for fifty years Vicar of "Belfry's," the largest church in the city, in his youth standing absolutely alone, but later the Nestor of a growing circle of Evangelical clergy. Among these was John Overton, whose *True Churchmen Ascertained* caused a tremendous controversy, for he boldly carried the war into the enemy's country, and tried to prove from a careful examination of the Articles and the history of the Prayer Book that Evangelicals were "the true Churchmen" and their opponents "in a very

[1] Adam's *Posthumous Works.* [2] *Ibid.*

fundamental sense dissenters from the Church of England."[1] Further north, at Helmsley, was Richard Conyers, ringing his Protestant Angelus every day, and teaching his peasants to pause in their work and breathe a silent prayer whenever they heard the sound come floating over the fields. In the West Riding John Crosse, the blind Vicar of Bradford, was drawing such congregations that the great church could not hold them, though gallery after gallery was added. At Leeds Miles Atkinson's influence was supreme, and William Hey, the famous surgeon, was his great supporter. Slaithwaite had a steady succession of Evangelical clergy. First "Boanerges" Furly, whom Venn had chosen for the living, then Matthew Powley, who had married the daughter of Cowper's friend, Mrs. Unwin, and then Thomas Wilson, one of Milner's pupils, for whom a new church had to be built, and afterwards enlarged, and yet it could not hold the people who flocked to hear him. "They stood," it is said,[2] "like corn in a field, sometimes double rows in a seat; there was no dissent in that valley." Matthew Powley became Vicar of Dewsbury when he left Slaithwaite. Henry Coulthurst, as Vicar of Halifax, had all the twelve chapels-of-ease in the parish in his own patronage. Altogether, by the time that the end of the century had been reached, the Evangelicals were far stronger in Yorkshire than in any other part of the country.

It was right then that Yorkshire should be the

[1] *True Churchmen Ascertained*, 397.

[2] Hulbert's *Annals of the Church in Slaithwaite*, p. 103.

first county to turn its attention to the supply of Evangelical candidates for the ministry. Venn had founded a Clerical Society (1767) when he was at Huddersfield, in which like-minded clergy might meet for mutual edification, and, when he left, the meetings were continued by Burnett in Elland Rectory. At one of these meetings the difficulty of finding Evangelical curates was discussed, and it was decided (1777) to start a fund to help suitable young men, who hoped to be ordained, to go to Oxford or Cambridge. Thornton and other laymen of the party gave most generously, and the Elland Society began its long career of usefulness, one of the first students to receive a grant being Samuel Marsden, the future apostle of New Zealand.

The Elland Society.

In the other northern counties there were very few Evangelicals to be found. At Christ Church, Macclesfield, David Simpson was ministering (1775–99) with such success, that on Good Friday, 1782, the number of the communicants was more than thirteen hundred. This church had been built for him, with the consent of Bishop Porteous, the first Bishop to show any favour to the Evangelicals, by Charles Roe, the founder of the Macclesfield silk trade, after a terrible scene in the old parish church, when the rector had violently assaulted Simpson, who was then his curate, and thrown him bodily out of the pulpit in the middle of one of his sermons. At Manchester Cornelius Bayley, who had been a teacher in Wesley's school at Kingswood, and

Other Counties.

afterwards curate of Madeley under Fletcher, obtained permission from the Warden and Fellows of the Collegiate Church to build the new church of St. James' in 1788, and there he ministered till his death in 1812. In Westmorland Thomas Hervey was Perpetual Curate of Underbarrow (1766–1806), "having no other clergyman of congenial sentiments within a distance of many miles."[1] In Cumberland the only Evangelical was John Farrer of Stanwix, till Isaac Milner, of whom we shall speak later, became Dean of Carlisle in 1791, and drew such crowds to the cathedral that it was said, "When the Dean preaches, you may walk on the heads of the people."[2] In Northumberland and Durham we have not been able to discover a single Evangelical in the eighteenth century. For some reason that is not altogether clear, the movement which gained so firm a footing in one corner of Yorkshire was very slow in finding its way into any of the neighbouring counties.

(c) IN THE WEST

In the West far the most striking figure was that of Fletcher of Madeley. He was pre-eminently the saint of the movement. "In four-score years," wrote John Wesley,[3] "I have known many exemplary men, holy in heart and life, but one equal to him I have not known, one so

Fletcher of Madeley.

[1] *Christian Observer*, Vol. V, p. 523.
[2] Page 127.
[3] Paley's *Life of Dr. Paley*, p. 186.
[4] *Sermon on the Occasion of the Death of Mr. Fletcher*, 1785.

inwardly and outwardly devoted to God." By his gentleness and humility, his long nights of prayer and extraordinary self-denial, his love of children and love of birds, his calm courage in the hour of danger, and constant realisation of the presence of his Master as a Personal Friend, he recalls the legends of the mediæval saints. "No country or age," wrote Robert Southey,[1] "has ever produced a man of more fervent piety or more perfect charity": and all contemporary writers seem to have been equally impressed: the strangest of all testimonials came from the infidel Voltaire, who, when challenged to produce a character as beautiful as that of our Lord, at once pointed to Fletcher of Madeley.

By birth he was not an Englishman. His real name was Jean Guillaume de la Flechère, but, because his English friends could never spell this correctly, he consented to be called John William Fletcher. He was born in Switzerland, and educated at Geneva for the ministry of the Swiss Church, but his mind revolted at the doctrine of Election, as taught in the home of Calvinism, and he came to England as a private tutor. While teaching in the household of Thomas Hill, of Tern Hall, Shropshire, he heard for the first time of the Methodists. Mrs. Hill was jesting about his earnestness: "'I shall wonder if our tutor does not turn Methodist by and by.' 'Methodist, madam,' said he, 'pray what is that?' She replied, 'Why, the Methodists are a people that do nothing but pray.' 'Then,' said he, 'by the help

[1] *Life of Wesley*, chap. xxv.

of God I will find them out.'"[1] On his first visit to London he kept his word; he hunted out a Methodist preaching-house, and there he found a type of Christianity as far as possible removed from the stern Genevan Calvinism, bright, joyous, philanthropic, brimming over with enthusiastic love for God and man. The text, "Cast thy burden upon the Lord," seemed to come as a personal message, and gradually he learnt how to cast all his sin and weakness in simple faith on the Redeemer, Who had died to save him.

His thoughts then began to turn back to his old desire to be a minister of the Gospel, and he determined to seek work in his adopted country. On March 6th, 1757, he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Hereford, and priest on the following Sunday by the Bishop of Bangor. How a young foreigner without naturalization, without a degree in an English University, and without any prospect of parochial work could be ordained at all, and how he could be admitted to the priesthood after only a week's interval, it is impossible to say; but irregularities like this on the part of the rulers of the Church help to explain the irregularities of some of the first Evangelicals. Things which would be impossible to-day were then allowed to pass almost without comment. Three years later (1760) he found his life's work. By that time his pupils were too old to need a tutor, and Mr. Hill obtained for him the living of Madeley. This was a large Shropshire

[1] Wesley's *Life of Fletcher*, 17.

village in the Severn Valley, "remarkable for little else than the ignorance and profaneness of its inhabitants,"[1] containing a few well-to-do farmers, coarse and illiterate, who divided their interests between their cattle, their hunting, and their ale; a number of agricultural labourers, quite as coarse and even more ignorant than their masters; the colliers who worked the pits in two outlying hamlets, men every bit as degraded as Whitefield's friends in Kingswood; and the forgemen of Coalbrook Dale, the cradle of the iron trade, where the Darbys had just introduced the process of smelting iron with coal. It was a strange contrast; on the one side three thousand people, rough, rowdy, drunken, bitterly resenting any interference and any suggestion of religion; on the other side this refined, sensitive scholar with his delicate health, his beautiful face, and his gentle, foreign ways, seeking to bend their stubborn necks beneath the yoke of Christ. Here he remained for twenty-five years (1760–85), and no one could persuade him to move. King George inquired through the Lord Chancellor what preferment would be acceptable. "Tell His Majesty," he replied, "that I want nothing but more grace." Wesley urged him to give up his parish and become an itinerant, but, though he occasionally joined him on short preaching tours, he remained faithful to his stubborn and unruly villagers. His first task was to make them realise that the church was at least as important a place in the parish as the bull-ring. He called at every house

[1] J. Gilpin, *Portrait of St. Paul.*

to urge the people to attend. "Some made excuse," wrote Wesley,[1] "that they could not wake early enough. He provided for this also. Taking a bell in his hand, he set out every Sunday at five in the morning, and went round the most distant parts of the parish, inviting all the inhabitants to the House of God." At first he was much discouraged by the tiny congregations; but gradually the numbers grew, and soon the little church could not hold the people, and one of the windows near the pulpit had to be taken out, so that others might stand in the churchyard and listen to the sermon. Many walked long distances and brought their dinners with them, and deep indentations in the pillars of the vicarage gates still show where they used to sharpen their knives.

But Fletcher was not the man to be satisfied with a crowded church. His aim was to make every man, woman, and child a Christian. The children were catechised in church every Sunday afternoon; six Sunday-schools were started later in various parts of the parish, and in summer he held wonderful classes in the woods, where he taught the children to pray and to sing the hymns that he wrote for them. Every week-night a service was held in some part of the parish, either in church, or in a cottage, or in the open air. He gathered all who seemed impressed into little societies, and rose at five in the morning to instruct them in the Christian faith. He fought against the evil around with unflinching courage. "It was a common thing for young persons of both

[1] Wesley's *Life of Fletcher*.

sexes to meet together for what was called recreation; and that recreation usually continued from evening to morning, consisting chiefly in dancing, revelling, drunkenness, and obscenity."[1] These gatherings Fletcher finally suppressed after a hard battle, bursting in upon them whenever they were held "with holy indignation," taking the names of all who were present, and sending them to their homes with stern rebukes. The Vicar soon became a terror to evil-doers. "He used always to run," said one collier, "after such wicked fellows as I was, in order that he might talk with us and warn us."[2] Whenever they saw him coming, they used to take to their heels; but often he ran them down, and many a man's life was changed by the conversation that followed. Indeed, it was in personal dealing with souls that his greatest strength lay. He had a wonderful gift of drawing lessons from the every-day things of life. To a woman poking the fire he spoke of the way the fire of love in the soul is apt to burn low; another who was sweeping a room he asked whether she was taking equal care to drive uncleanness out of every corner of her heart; to the farmer with his gun he spoke of sin as a missing of the mark; to the woman whose market basket he was carrying he spoke of One Who had died to bear a heavier burden for her. In any one else it might have seemed unreal, and in some of his imitators it soon became ridiculous; but he did it in so tactful

[1] Gilpin's *Portrait of St. Paul.*
[2] Cox's *Life of Fletcher.*

and impressive a way that those to whom he spoke seldom forgot his words.

A man so active was bound to meet with opposition. The rumour went round the parish that he was a Jesuit in disguise, and his foreign accent helped to make this credible. A neighbouring squire sent him a message that he intended to cane him publicly in the village street. At all events he was mixed up with the Methodists, and that was enough. The farmers decided that it was their duty to drive him from the parish. Some refused to pay their tithes, and, as his income from the living was only £100, he was often nearly starved, but he would not enforce his rights in a court of law. They prosecuted under the Conventicle Act a woman in one of the outlying hamlets, who had lent him a room for a week-night service, and she was fined £20, which of course had to come out of the Vicar's pocket. "You cannot well imagine," he wrote,[1] "how much the animosity of my parishioners is heightened, and with what boldness it discovers itself against me. The people, instead of saying 'Let us go up to the House of the Lord,' exclaim, 'Why should we go and hear a Methodist?'" Meanwhile the colliers had their own plan for getting rid of him. They arranged a great bull-baiting, in which the vicar was to take the place of the bull. One party set off to capture him, while the others stayed to get the dogs ready; but a funeral kept him from going to the place where they expected to find him, and so he escaped.

[1] Letter, October 12, 1761, printed in *Life of Fletcher* (Christian Biography).

But through good report and evil report he quietly went on his way, winning sinners one by one for Christ and His Church. Twice only do we find him engaged in different work: first, when for three years he acted as visitor to Lady Huntingdon's College at Trevecca, which was no great distance from Madeley; and again when he took his part in the unfortunate Calvinist controversy. If there was any man in England who understood Calvinism, it was the ex-student of Geneva, and when he saw the sudden revival of the doctrines which had troubled his youth, he took up his pen and wrote his five *Checks to Antinomianism*, almost the only book that controversy produced of which the author had no cause to be ashamed. "I know not which to admire most," said that sternest of critics, John Wesley, "the purity of the language, the strength of the argument, or the mildness and sweetness of the spirit that breathes throughout the whole." But even this exciting controversy did not turn him aside from his parochial work. He was always first and foremost the pastor of his village flock, and he died of a fever, caught while visiting a sick parishioner, with the words on his lips, "O my poor! what will become of my poor?"

Shropshire and Gloucestershire.

His nearest neighbours were Richard de Courcy, Vicar of St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury (1774–1803), who had been one of Lady Huntingdon's chaplains, and John Hallward and John Mayor, successive Vicars of Shawbury. Elsewhere it was very difficult for Evangelicals to gain a footing. Cirencester, for example,

had had no Vicar since the Reformation; the living had been called a perpetual curacy, and had been held by licence from the Bishop. But when, in 1778, Samuel Johnson, the Perpetual Curate, became an Evangelical, the office of Vicar was at once revived, and a Mr. Smith appointed, who dismissed the Curate, let the vicarage, and continued to live at Gloucester.

Wales.

In Wales many of the clergy were taking their full share in the Revival—Griffith Jones, Rector of Llanddowror, Daniel Rowlands, Rector of Llangeitho, William Williams, Curate of Llanwrtyd, Howell Davies, Rector of Prengast; but though they did their utmost to keep their followers true to the Church—"Stand by the Church by all means," were the dying words of Rowlands,[1] "there will be a great revival in the Church of England; stand by it even unto death"—all but David Jones of Llangan belong more to the Methodist wing of the movement than to the Evangelical.

Bristol.

At Bristol, the cradle of Methodism, the main current of the Revival flowed past and away from the Church, but even here a certain number of Evangelicals were found. Their first church was St. Werburgh's, which then stood in the heart of the city, and had around it a tiny parish of forty-six houses. Here Richard Symes was Rector, to whom Walker of Truro wrote in 1755, "I greatly rejoice that God hath introduced into your large city the purity of the Gospel doctrines by your means in

[1] Owen's *Memoir of Rowlands*. Appendix L.

a regular way."[1] His curate, James Rouquet (1768–1776), was one of the most attractive of the minor characters of the period. A son of Huguenot refugees, with all a Frenchman's vivacity, he had fallen under the spell of Whitefield while a boy at Merchant Taylors', and for a time had acted as master at Wesley's Kingswood school. He horrified the Bristol merchants by his ultra-Radicalism and his outspoken sympathy with the revolted colonies, but the poor almost worshipped him—some of his best work was done as chaplain of the hospital and gaol—and his funeral was a sight that Bristol long remembered: his friends from the slums turned up in their thousands to follow him to the grave. The second Evangelical parish was St. George's, Kingswood, the new church built for the miners to whom Wesley and Whitefield had ministered, and here Richard Hart laboured for nearly fifty years (1759–1808), combining the keenest Evangelistic fervour with perfect loyalty to the Church. In three other parishes also the doctrines of the Revival were taught: All Saints', where James Stonehouse was Lecturer (1763–82), a man who had been a well-known physician and infidel, but was now preaching with great eloquence the faith which he once destroyed; the Temple, where Joseph Easterbrook was Vicar (1779–91), a somewhat erratic person, who believed he could cast out devils; and St. Mary-le-Port, where William Tandey was Curate-in-charge (1788–99), a cultured, thoughtful preacher of the type of Cecil Here, too, lived James Ireland, the John

[1] Letter printed in *Christian Guardian*, 1804, p. 274.

Thornton of the west, the wealthy sugar refiner who gave ungrudgingly his life and fortune to help the work of the Evangelical clergy, and to increase their numbers. By his help the Bristol Clerical Education Society was formed (1795), which did for the western counties what the Elland Society did for the north, and in thirty years helped more than a hundred promising young Evangelicals, who were preparing for Holy Orders, to go to one or other of the Universities.

Devonshire.

In Devonshire there was another group of Evangelical clergy. At Broad Hembury was Augustus Toplady (1768–78), the protagonist on the Calvinist side in the great controversy, a strange blend of saintliness, scholarship, and scurrility. "I never attempt to hew mill-stones with feathers," he said;[1] and therein he was wise. But that hardly excused his calling Wesley "a low and puny tadpole,"[2] whose "satanic guilt was only exceeded by his satanic shamelessness,"[3] or "the most rancorous hater of the Gospel system that ever appeared in this island."[4] However, his hymn "Rock of Ages" atones for a multitude of sins, and his great work *The Historic Proof of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England* was undoubtedly one of the most learned and brilliant books of the period. But his restless spirit led him to attempt far more

[1] Letter printed in *Posthumous Works*, 343.
[2] *An Old Fox Tarred and Feathered*, § 1.
[3] *More Work for Mr. J. Wesley*, § 3.
[4] Letter in *Posthumous Works*, 346.

than his frail and wasted body could accomplish, and his constant ill-health partly excused the violence of his controversial pamphlets. At Hatherleigh, Cradock Glascott was Vicar for nearly fifty years (1781–1831), a prisoner within his parochial boundaries by his oath to the Bishop, who, when he heard that he had been one of Lady Huntingdon's itinerant chaplains, had declined to institute him, unless he would swear never to go outside the parish after he had once entered it. At Ashford, two miles from Barnstaple, was the studious Thomas Bliss, Hill at Tawstock, Williams at Clyst-Hydon; but the strongest man in this group was undoubtedly Robert Hawker, who worked in Plymouth for fifty years (1778–1828), first as Curate and then as Vicar of King Charles' Church. Theologically he was one of the highest of Calvinists, and defended his grim beliefs in innumerable volumes; but personally he was one of the simplest and most lovable of men; though he ruled his great congregation with a rod of iron, any beggar was able to wheedle him out of his last sixpence, and the bedroom doors in the vicarage had to be kept locked, so often had he stripped the beds to provide for the wants of his poor. His Sunday-schools were some of the earliest in the south of England, and the *Children's Hymn Book* which he compiled was the first of its kind; but fond as he was of children, he never learnt how to manage that mischievous little grandson of his, who afterwards became the well-known Vicar of Morwenstow.

In Cornwall the first Evangelical was a layman,

George Conon, the Headmaster of Truro Grammar School. Little is known about his life, but his influence was widely felt, for almost all the gentlemen's sons in the middle and west of the county were educated by him. One day, however, a curious problem presented itself for solution. His doctor had ordered him some wine, and in that smuggling neighbourhood it was impossible to obtain any on which the duty had been paid. As a Christian he could not consent to participate in a fraud, and yet he could not pay the money himself without getting others into trouble. At last he determined to send what was due to the curate of the parish with a note asking him to hand it on to the proper authorities.

Conon of Truro.

Truro at that time was a gay and frivolous little town, and Samuel Walker had come there as curate (1746), in order to be near the Assembly Rooms, for he was passionately fond of card-playing and dancing. A member of an old West Country family, well read and courtly, with handsome person, charming manners, and brilliant conversational powers, eloquent in the pulpit, orthodox in doctrine, but without a spark of any spiritual religion, he seemed to be settling down to the life of a fashionable abbé. Conon's note, however, induced him to call on the schoolmaster, and he found, he tells us, "the first person I ever met possessed of the mind of Christ."[1] That call led to others, and with infinite tact the elder man brought him

Walker of Truro.

[1] *Life of Walker*, p. 8.

to see the emptiness of the life he was living, and the meaning and the truth of the Evangelical doctrines.

Walker was in sole charge at Truro. His Rector was an absentee, who left him a free hand, so long as he forwarded half the pew rents, fees, and offerings punctually; and so he was able at once to alter his methods of work and preaching. Very calmly he explained from the pulpit the change in his views, warned those who were trusting, as he had been, to the mere formalities of Sunday worship for salvation, and began to preach repentance, faith, and the new birth. Of course opposition followed. His enemies appealed to the Bishop, but so irreproachable was his conduct, that not even Lavington, the sworn foe of every Evangelical, could find a handle against him. They then turned to the Rector, who promised to dismiss his curate. "He went, but on entering Walker's apartment he was received with an elegance and dignity of manner, which were natural to one who had long been the charm of Society, that he retreated overwhelmed with confusion, unable to say a word about the intended dismissal; he was in consequence reproached with his breach of promise, and went a second time, and again retreated without daring to allude to the object of his visit. He was pressed to go a third time by one of his principal parishioners, but said, 'Do you go and dismiss him, if you can. I feel in his presence as if he were a being of a superior order.'"[1] So Walker remained Curate of Truro till his last illness.

[1] Sidney's *Life of Walker*, 49.

The work that he accomplished was extraordinary. He disapproved of the extra-parochial work of some of his brethren, and wrote strongly more than once against itinerancy; he believed in concentrating all his strength on the one corner of the vineyard committed to his care, and no one proved more clearly than he the possibilities of the parochial system. All Truro seemed to go to church in his day. It was said, "You might fire a cannon down every street in church time without a chance of killing a human being."[1] The old frivolity and laxness of morals gradually disappeared. The cock-pit and the theatre had to close their doors for lack of patrons. In one of his letters to Adam he writes after five years of work,[2] "the number of those who have made particular application to me inquiring what they must do to be saved cannot have been less than eight hundred," which in a town of 1600 meant very nearly the whole adult population. His converts were formed into little societies, and watched over with the tenderest care; and when he died, in 1761, after more than twenty years of hard and prayerful work, he left Truro probably the most Christian town in England.

Other Cornish Evangelicals.

His influence over the neighbouring clergy was also very great. He formed (1750) a Parsons' Club for those of Evangelical views, which met on the Tuesday after every full moon for the study of religious questions. Michell of Veryan, Penrose of Penryn, Vowler of St. Agnes,

[1] *Life of Walker*, p. 17.

[2] Letter printed in *Christian Observer*, Sept., 1802.

and Vivian of Cornwood were the most active of the band, and the leaders of the Revival in the west of Cornwall. Meanwhile, in the eastern half of the county, others were hard at work, of whom the most vigorous were George Thomson, Vicar of St. Gennys (1732–82), a firebrand of the Berridge type, who, when Lavington threatened to deprive him of his gown, took it off and folded it up, and laid it at the Bishop's feet with the remark that he could preach just as well without it; and John Bennet, Vicar of Laneast, converted when over seventy, who crowded into his last ten years more aggressive Christian work than most men accomplish in a lifetime. At one time it looked as though Cornwall would become a strong Evangelical centre, but there were not enough clergy to restrain the volatile Cornish temperament, and many of the converts of the Revival passed into the ranks of the Methodists.

(d) IN THE MIDLANDS

The first Evangelical parish in the Midlands was the village of Weston Favell, two miles from Northampton, where James Hervey was living his quiet, blameless life. He had been one of the Oxford Methodists, and a pupil of John Wesley, and he was still heart and soul with his old friends in their work. He did not itinerate—his health and his views of Church order made that impossible. Except for a brief curacy at Bideford, he hardly ever stirred beyond the borders of his parish. He had lived there as a boy; he returned in

James Hervey.

1743 to be his father's curate; he succeeded his father as Rector (1752), and he died there in 1758. But he did much to help the movement with his pen. His first book, *Meditations among the Tombs* (1746), ran through twenty editions in a very few years, and his next, *Theron and Aspasio* (1755), was almost as popular. Their success is incredible to a modern reader. Two friends talk endless theological platitudes in the most bombastic language, while "cauliflowers sheltered their fair complexions under a green umbrella, and daisies were gay with the smile of youth and fair as the virgin snows";[1] but the books certainly appealed to polite circles in the eighteenth century—even the critical *Monthly Review* saw nothing ridiculous in them—and, since it is the aim of a band of missionaries to speak all the dialects of the country in which they work, it was well that there should be one among the Evangelicals who was able to translate his message into the jargon of the genteel world.

Berridge of Everton.

But the man who left the deepest mark on this part of England was John Berridge of Everton. Great had been the sensation at Cambridge, when it was known that the senior Fellow of Clare, the brilliant scholar and famous wit, had "turned Methodist" and accepted a country living (1755). Greater still was the sensation in Bedfordshire, when, after a short period of groping in the dark, he grasped his message in its fulness, and began his work. He had brought down with him

[1] *Theron and Aspasio*, Dialogue II.

from Cambridge a spirit of reckless comicality; Hudibras and Aristophanes had soaked into his very soul. He often said extraordinary things which horrified his more sober friends. But Southey made a great mistake when he sketched him as a mere buffoon.[1] He was a scholar and a gentleman, able to meet Lady Huntingdon and her friends on quite equal terms; indeed, Wesley described him as "one of the most sensible men of all whom it pleased God to employ in reviving Primitive Christianity."[2] His sermons, as he wrote them, had nothing remarkable about them; they were very simple, very orthodox, and a trifle dull—we possess a number of specimens in his collected works; but, when they were delivered, they entirely changed their character. On the spur of the moment he interpolated so many quaint asides, homely illustrations, racy anecdotes, personal applications, and so many of those pithy proverbial sayings that the rustic loves, that he became a veritable Mrs. Poyser in the pulpit. The Church of England has had few clergy who could so perfectly get in touch with the plough-boy intellect.

The first result was alarming and almost disastrous. Not only was the church crowded, "the windows were filled within and without,' wrote one who was present, "and even the pulpit to the very top, so that Mr. Berridge seemed almost stifled"; but, as the people began to grasp the great facts of eternity,

[1] *Life of Wesley*, chap. xxv.

[2] Letter to Lady Huntingdon, printed in Tyerman's *Wesley*, II, 324.

there came a terrible epidemic of those hysterical seizures which had accompanied the earlier preaching of Wesley. The same eye-witness describes a typical scene.[1] The sermon had hardly begun, when "a mixture of various sounds" arose from the congregation, "some shrieking, some roaring aloud; the most general was a loud breathing, like that of people half strangled and gasping for life. Others fell down as dead, some in silence, some with extreme noise. An able-bodied, fresh, healthy country-man dropped with a violence inconceivable. I heard the stamping of his feet, ready to break the boards, as he lay in strong convulsions at the bottom of the pew. About the same time John Keeling fell into an agony. Immediately after a well-dressed stranger, who stood facing me, fell backward, wringing his hands and roaring like a bull." All over the church a perfect Babel of noises broke out: some turned black in the face and gurgled as though they were being choked, some groaned, others yelled, and all the time the deep voice of the preacher quietly went on speaking. And yet Berridge's sermons were far from sensational; there were no Jonathan Edwards pictures of the terrors of Hell; his own expression that he "prattled of Jesus" accurately describes his preaching; but week after week his congregation was transformed into a company of howling maniacs, and the strange thing was that the men were more subject to these seizures than the women. No one was more astonished than the preacher himself; but with simple

[1] Quoted by Wesley, *Journal*, May 28, 1759.

faith he decided that this must come either from God or the devil. If it was of God, he need not mind, for it would result in good. On the other hand, if it was a device of the devil to try to stop God's work, he must press steadily on. In either case his duty was clearly to go on preaching the Gospel, and in time, as the Christian facts grew more familiar to the people, the excitement, though not the earnestness, passed entirely away, till Robinson of Leicester used to point to the reverence of the services in Everton Church as "a model and proof of what the Church of England could exhibit and effect."[1]

When Berridge had got his own parish into proper order, he began to look around, and he saw everywhere empty churches, careless clergy, and immortal souls perishing for lack of knowledge. He knew that he was able to win the Bedfordshire labourer for God, and those words of the Ordination Service, "to seek Christ's sheep that are scattered abroad," kept ringing in his ears, till at last, like Grimshaw, he burst through his parish boundaries, and began to preach in barns and fields, wherever he could get an opening. Part of each week he devoted to his own parish, and on the other days he visited ten or a dozen villages, sometimes riding more than a hundred miles; and wherever he went audiences of thousands were waiting to hang on his lips, to learn for the first time what Christianity really was. Of course, this work brought him into serious conflict with the Bishop, who even threatened to imprison him in

[1] Vaughan's *Life of Robinson*, 251.

Huntingdon Gaol; but Pitt, who had been his friend at Cambridge, stepped in to protect him, and he ended his days as Vicar of Everton and Evangelist of the whole countryside between the Cam and the Nen.

Olney.

Olney was another centre of Evangelical work; a squalid little Buckinghamshire town, "inhabited," wrote Cowper,[1] "chiefly by the half-starved and ragged of the earth." It was altogether a most depressing place—a long street of tumble-down cottages with holes in the thatched roofs, cold fogs creeping up from the sluggish waters of the Ouse, and two thousand people sullenly fighting a lost battle with starvation. Every one in Olney lived by lace-making, and the time had come when no one could live by that kind of lace-making any more. From morning to night the whole population sat stooping over their pillows, desperately marshalling their regiments of pins and filling their bobbins with thread. But work as they would, they could not win a living out of their doomed trade, and crushed and hopeless they were slipping down the hill into habits of drunkenness and vice. Moses Browne, the poet-preacher, was the first Evangelical vicar, a pen-cutter, who had attracted notice by verses in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and had been ordained late in life by the help of James Hervey and Lady Huntingdon. He was a good man, and left to his successor "a company of praying people."[2]

[1] Letter to Unwin, November 18, 1782, *Correspondence*.
[2] Newton, *Letters to his Wife*.

But he was not markedly successful, and after ten years he was glad to accept the chaplaincy of Morden College, a seventeenth-century institution for decayed London merchants.

He left behind, as curate-in-charge (1764), a very remarkable man. Most of the Evangelical clergy had led, before their ordination, quiet, even humdrum, lives. Not so John Newton. He had crowded into his early years enough adventures to supply materials for a dozen penny dreadfuls, and more than enough sin. Over his study mantelpiece at Olney still stand the texts he painted: "Since thou wast precious in My sight, thou hast been honourable." "But thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt, and the Lord thy God redeemed thee." Son of the captain of a small trader, he spent his boyhood in the docks and streets of strange cities; as a child he was an expert in blasphemy; at seventeen he read Shaftesbury, and became an avowed infidel. Every chance that his father gave him was thrown away; a position in Spain, another in Jamaica, both were forfeited. When seized by the press-gang, his father secured his appointment as midshipman, but his folly led to a public flogging, and reduction to the ranks. He then joined a ship sailing for West Africa, "in order," he said,[1] "that I might now be as abandoned as I pleased without any control"; but at Sierra Leoen he entered the service of a white slave-trader, only to find himself quickly reduced to the position of

John Newton.

[1] *Autobiography*, Letter IV.

a slave. Here on this fever-stricken coast he toiled for a whole year, living on roots and persecuted by the man's negro mistress, who took a savage delight in making a white man miserable. A captain, who had promised his father to look for him, succeeded in setting him free, but his sufferings had not improved him. Blasphemous travesties of the Gospel story were his favourite form of wit, and his conduct on the vessel disgusted his rescuer. Later we find him as mate of a slave-ship, and then as captain, fighting with natives in African forests, fighting with ruffianly crews which mutinied and wanted to turn pirates, fighting with slaves who burst their hatches and tried to seize the vessel: a first-rate life to fill the pages of a boy's paper, but the strangest possible preparation for an Evangelical ministry.

But, though he sank very low, two links with the higher life still remained unbroken. The first was his romantic love for little Mary Catlett, who had won his sailor's heart when she was a girl of thirteen. In his worst days the thought of her was some check upon him, and in 1750 he returned to claim her as his wife. The other link with better things was his love of books. On the African sands he taught himself Euclid, on the slave-ship he taught himself Latin, and one day he stumbled across a copy of Thomas à Kempis. This first shook his faith in his crude atheism; a storm at sea deepened the impression, and a gradual change in his life began. For years he was more an earnest inquirer than a definite Christian, but just because his progress was so slow, when he

did grasp the truth, his convictions were very deep and strong. In his search for light he had made friends with many of the new teachers, Wesley and Whitefield, Berridge and Grimshaw, Venn and Romaine, and now his thoughts began to turn towards ordination. The difficulties seemed insuperable, but at last, through the influence of Lord Dartmouth, the Bishop of Lincoln accepted him, and this bluff sea-captain in his blue jacket, which he could hardly ever be persuaded to exchange for clerical dress, came to be Curate of this sad little town.

He threw himself into the work with characteristic thoroughness. He soon obtained funds from Lord Dartmouth and Thornton to relieve the bodily sufferings of his new parishioners, and then he was able to devote himself to the needs of their souls. From his diary we can compile a list of his regular meetings.

SUNDAY.	6 *a.m.*	Prayer Meeting.
	Morning. Afternoon. Evening.	Full service with sermon.
	8 *p.m.*	Meeting for Prayer and Hymn-singing in the Vicarage.
MONDAY.	*Evening.*	Men's Bible Class.
TUESDAY.	5 *a.m.*	Prayer Meeting (good average attendance).
	Evening.	Prayer Meeting (the largest meeting of the week).
WEDNESDAY.	Classes for Young People and Inquirers.	

THURSDAY.	*Afternoon.*	Children's Meeting, "to reason with them, and explain the Scriptures in their own little way."
	Evening.	Service in Church with Sermon—attended by people from many of the villages round.
FRIDAY.	*Evening.*	Meeting for Members of his Society.

When we remember that he had no curate, and so had to take every meeting himself; that he was a most diligent visitor; that he held many cottage meetings in outlying corners of the parish, and was constantly announcing additional meetings on one excuse or another, we gain some idea of the amount of work he accomplished every week.

But when we have said all this, we have not mentioned yet the means by which he did most good. Preaching was not his strongest point. Though his personality and intense earnestness would always command attention, the effect was spoiled by his poor delivery and awkward gestures. His chief gift was the power of dealing with individuals. He was a specialist in sin. In the Roman Church he would have been one of the most trusted of confessors. To Olney there came a constant stream of men who were struggling with temptation, and they found in him one who had been a worse sinner than themselves, one who could understand and sympathize, one who was able to speak with authority as to the way of salvation. Those who could not come to see

him sat down to write, and from all parts of England letters poured in from men of every station, and they seldom failed to receive a helpful answer. He was the St. Francis de Sales of the Evangelical movement, the great spiritual director of souls through the post. "It is the Lord's will," he said, "that I should do most by my letters." And as we read those that have been preserved and printed, it is quite easy to understand his power; such gentle sympathy, combined with such sturdy common sense, made him a friend in whom it was indeed good to confide.

In 1767 some new parishioners came to live at Olney. The red house in the market-place was taken by Mrs. Unwin, a clergyman's widow with a son and a daughter, and a shy sensitive invalid friend, who had come as a boarder in her husband's life-time, and was now regarded quite as one of the family. This was the poet Cowper, a young lawyer whose career had been checked by a sudden attack of insanity. Careful treatment had restored his reason, but he remained totally unfit for the battle of life, and his friends subscribed sufficient money to enable him to live in the country. Very touching is the picture that he gives us of himself:—

William Cowper.

> I was a stricken deer that left the herd
> Long since; with many an arrow deep infixed
> My panting side was charged, when I withdrew
> To seek a tranquil death in distant shades.
> There was I found by One who had Himself

> Been hurt by the archers. In His side He bore
> And in His hands and feet, the cruel scars.
> With gentle force, soliciting the darts
> He drew them forth, and healed, and bade me live.[1]

This is no place to write the poet's life. Much of his work, from *John Gilpin* to the *Translation of Homer*, lies outside our present subject, but some of it is of the greatest importance to students of the Revival. He and Newton soon became very close friends, and in time Cowper overcame his constitutional indolence sufficiently to take some part in the parish work; indeed, some have held Newton responsible for his fits of madness, but this is easily disproved; it is a simple matter of chronology. The first and worst of all the attacks with its desperate attempts at suicide took place before he came to Olney, when he neither prayed nor attended any place of worship, but was living the gay and careless life of a briefless barrister: and though his later attacks of melancholia took the form of religious depression, this was only natural, since by that time religion was the dominant interest of his life: a financier under similar circumstances would have imagined himself bankrupt. Moreover, the delusion from which he suffered, that, though once a child of God, he was "damned below Judas,"[2] was in flat contradiction to his theological creed; for he and Newton were both Calvinists, holding strongly the doctrine of final perseverance—"Once in grace, always in grace." "My sheep shall never perish,

[1] *The Task*, Book III. [2] *Sapphics*, "Hatred and Vengeance."

neither shall any man pluck them out of My hand.' Whatever may have been the cause of his madness—and it was probably physical—it is impossible to blame his Calvinism for it.

The friendship between Newton and Cowper enriched the Church with another group of hymns. One of Newton's innocent little devices for keeping up his people's interest in the Prayer Meeting was to provide a new hymn every Tuesday evening, which he often took as a text for his address. This was sometimes written by Cowper and sometimes by Newton himself, and thus the friends wrote between them more than three hundred hymns, many of which have taken their place in the front rank of English hymnody. Among Newton's we find such well-known favourites as:—

"The Olney Hymns."

"How sweet the Name of Jesus sounds."
"Glorious things of Thee are spoken."
"Come, my soul, thy suit prepare."
"Begone unbelief, my Saviour is near."
"Quiet, Lord, my froward heart."
"Approach, my soul, the Mercy Seat.

Cowper's contributions are just as popular, including amongst others:—

"Hark, my soul, it is the Lord."
"Oh for a closer walk with God."
"There is a fountain filled with blood."
"God moves in a mysterious way."
"Sometimes a light surprises."
"Jesus, where'er Thy people meet."
"What various hindrances we meet."

But Cowper's chief importance in the history of the Evangelicals lies in the fact that he was the author of *The Task*. This poem carried its message into quarters which the movement had not yet touched. Men who would have scorned the preaching of Grimshaw or the pages of Venn could not help reading the masterpiece of the first poet of the day, and the world of culture awoke to the fact that Evangelicalism was not a vulgar delusion of the masses, but a philosophy of life, which could appeal effectively to educated men. From one point of view this is surely the most extraordinary poem in literature. Its subject is a sofa! "You can write about anything," said his friend, Lady Austen, "write about this sofa," and he accepted the task. "I sing the sofa," he obediently begins, but, after tracing its evolution from the three-legged stool, he flies off at a tangent, and in five thousand charming lines discusses almost every other subject under the sun—theology, gardening, politics, literature, and contemporary life—returning apologetically to the sofa in his closing lines. At first the result is bewildering; tame hares and Handel's oratorios, *petit maître* parsons and cucumber-growing, Brown's system of landscape gardening and the government of Louis XVI, seem hardly kindred subjects; but soon the charm of this rambling style makes itself felt, and moreover the reader begins to see that there is method in the madness. Four definite thoughts stand out clearly from the poem as a whole. First, the thought of *the beauty and sanctity*

"The Task."

of Home. There is something suggestive in the fact that the great poem of early Evangelicalism was written round a sofa. Puritanism had centred round the State; the Oxford Movement was to centre round the Church; but Evangelicalism was essentially the religion of the Home. Family life, family joy, family worship were its interest.

> Now stir the fire, and close the shutters fast,
> Let fall the curtains, wheel the sofa round,
> And while the bubbling and loud hissing urn
> Throws up a steamy column, and the cups
> That cheer but not inebriate wait on each,
> So let us welcome peaceful evening in.[1]

It held up before a restless world the picture of a quiet Christian home. In the second place the poem is *a call to the Simple Life.* Evangelicalism set its face against all artificial amusements, the glare and glitter of the ball-room, the theatre and the card-table; it sought to educate its people to enjoy more wholesome pleasures. In this Cowper was a true son of the movement. "Friends, books, a garden, and perhaps a pen," this was his ideal of happiness.

> A life all turbulence and noise may seem
> To him that leads it wise and to be praised,
> But wisdom is a pearl with most success
> Sought in still waters.[2]

And never have the joys of a simple life been more charmingly sung. His third point is that the simple life need not be the life of a recluse, but is

[1] *The Task*, Book IV. [2] *Ibid.*, Book III.

quite compatible with *a keen interest in all that is happening in the world.*

> What's the world to you?
> Much. I was born of woman, and drew milk
> As sweet as charity from human breasts;
> I think, articulate, I laugh and weep
> And exercise all functions of a man.
> How then should I or any man that lives
> Be strangers to each other?[1]

This spirit largely accounts for the rambling nature of the poem. He takes an interest in everything—Captain Cook in the South Pacific, the earthquake in Sicily, the misgovernment of India, the sufferings of the Bastille prisoners, and the slaves in the sugar plantations.

> Neither can I rest
> A silent witness of the headlong rage
> Or heedless folly by which thousands die,
> Bone of my bone, and kindred souls to mine.[2]

There spoke the spirit that was soon to abolish the slave trade, and carry the factory laws, and found the C.M.S. Lastly, the thought that underlies the whole poem is this: the only way to enjoy home, or the simple life, or the manifold interests of the world, is to put oneself into *right relations with God.*

> Acquaint thyself with God, if thou wouldest taste
> His works. Admitted once to His embrace
> Thou shalt perceive that thou wast blind before.
> Thine eye shall be instructed, and thine heart,
> Made pure, shall relish with divine delight,
> Till then unfelt, what Hands Divine have wrought.[3]

[1] *The Task*, Book III. [2] *Ibid.*, Book III. [3] *Ibid.*, Book V.

The Task is the best key to the lives of men like those who, a little later, were called the Clapham Sect.

But before *The Task* was written Olney had a new Curate. After a fire had burnt down a considerable portion of the town, and caused the greatest suffering to the poorest of the people, Newton tried to put a stop to Guy Fawkes celebrations, which he thought a serious danger to the thatched roofs. But the rougher elements in the place strongly resented this; a serious riot ensued; an attempt was made to destroy the vicarage, and Newton had to give in. From that moment he felt that his influence over the town was weakened, and, when he was offered by John Thornton the rectory of St. Mary Woolnoth, a church in the very heart of the City, opposite the Bank, he decided (1780) to move to London, and leave Olney to another.

Departure of Newton.

After a brief interregnum, he was succeeded (1781) by Thomas Scott, Curate of the neighbouring villages of Stoke Goldington and Weston Underwood. He was quite a rough diamond, a son of the soil, who on leaving school had worked for nine years on a farm. But all the time he retained a passionate love of books, and at last succeeded in obtaining ordination. His motives, as he describes them, were not very high—"a desire of a more comfortable way of procuring a livelihood, the expectation of more leisure to employ in reading, and a vain-glorious imagination that I

Thomas Scott.

should sometime distinguish myself in the literary world."[1] Like many self-educated men, he had a high opinion of his own intellect, and at this time held strongly Unitarian views, which—so lax had the discipline of the Church become—he did not consider any difficulty in the way of ordination. "After having concealed my real sentiments under the mask of general expressions, after having subscribed articles directly contrary to what I believed, after having declared in the most solemn manner that I engaged myself to be inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost, not believing that there was any Holy Ghost, on September 20, 1772, I was ordained deacon."[2]

Soon after settling at Stoke he walked over to Olney to hear Newton preach, but was not much impressed. "I thought his doctrine abstruse, imaginative, and irrational."[3] The only result of his visit was that he began to treat his villagers to a course of heavy controversial sermons against Methodism. A few months later, however, Newton preached in another way a sermon that was far more effective. "Two of my parishioners," wrote Scott,[4] "a man and his wife, lay at the point of death. I had heard of the circumstance, but, not being sent for, I took no notice of it, till one evening—the woman being now dead and the man dying—I heard that my neighbour Mr. Newton had been several times to visit them. Immediately my conscience reproached me with

[1] Scott's *Force of Truth*, Part I.
[2] *The Force of Truth*, Part I.
[3] Quoted in *Life of Scott*.
[4] *The Force of Truth*, Part II.

being shamefully negligent in sitting at home within a few doors of dying persons and never going to visit them. It occurred to me that whatever contempt I might have for Mr. Newton's doctrines, I must acknowledge his practice to be more consistent with the ministerial character than my own."

His next step was a very curious one; he began to try to convert John Newton to Unitarianism. He opened a correspondence expecting "that my arguments would prove irresistibly convincing, and that I should have the honour of rescuing a well-meaning person from his enthusiastical delusions."[1] Hardly anything gives us a better view of Newton's wisdom and tact than the study of this correspondence. We see Scott attacking furiously—"I filled my letters with definitions, inquiries, arguments, objections, and consequences, requiring explicit answers"[1]—and the old veteran quietly parrying every stroke as it falls, never yielding an inch of his ground, but never thrusting back, taking great care never to wound his young antagonist. This controversy drove the Socinian Curate to study his Bible more closely. Day after day he walked up and down the beautiful park at Weston, his Greek Testament in his hand, until at last he came to see that truth was on the side of his opponent. The whole story of how he was driven from one position to another, until at last he came to adopt the full Evangelical faith, is told in his autobiography *The Force of Truth.*

Such was the man who now came (1781) to be

[1] *The Force of Truth*, Part II.

Curate of Olney. The appointment was not a popular one. Some of the people knew Scott, and had taken a violent dislike to him. Moreover, the parish as a whole needed very careful handling. Not only was the rough element dangerous, but the lives of many of the Church people were far from satisfactory. This was a difficulty that was making itself felt in many places at this time. As the first glow of the Revival passed away, it left behind a considerable class, who were willing and critical hearers of the word, but who declined to be doers. "They are almost all Calvinists," wrote Scott,[1] "even the most debauched of them." We see what he means from Cowper's picture of his neighbour, Geary Ball, who prided himself on an "experience many years ago, which, although it has been followed by no better fruits than will grow in an alehouse, he dignifies by the name of conversion."[2] Scott was hardly the man to deal with so delicate a position. He was fearless and honest and plain spoken, but he lacked the grace of tact. "Mr. Scott," wrote Cowper to Newton,[3] "would be admired, were he not so apt to be angry with his congregation. Warmth of temper, indulged to a degree that may be called scolding, defeats the end of preaching. But he is a good man, and may perhaps outgrow it." "He is a surgeon that makes more use of the knife than the poultice."[4] His four years at Olney were not happy

[1] Letter quoted in *Life of Scott*, 207.
[2] Letter to Newton, February 19, 1785. *Correspondence.*
[3] Letter to Newton, March 29, 1784. *Correspondence.*
[4] Letter to Unwin, May 5, 1783. *Correspondence.*

ones—"I am very unpopular in the town," he wrote,[1] "and preach in general to small congregations. I am generally looked upon as unsound and legal"—and when the proposal was made (1785) that he should remove to London to be morning preacher at the Lock Chapel, he did so with a sense of relief.

Scott's Commentary.

Here he wrote the Commentary on the Bible which made his name famous. Seldom has any great work been written in such an extraordinary manner. Bellamy, an enterprising but impecunious publisher on the verge of bankruptcy, noticing the revived interest in the Bible, hit on the plan of issuing a Commentary in weekly parts, and offered Scott a guinea a week if he would begin at once. The offer was a tempting one. He had often longed to work through the Bible, seeking to determine the message of every verse, and the guinea was by no means to be despised by a married man, whose whole income barely came to £120 a year. But he wrote later, "I am convinced that I did not deliberate, consult, and pray, as I should have done. I was too hasty in determining."[2] The killing thing was the speed with which the work had to be done. Each week's portion had to be written in a week. "Sick or well, in spirits or out, the tale of bricks must be delivered."[3] "I have known him," wrote his son,[4] "with great difficulty and suffering

[1] Letter quoted in *Life of Scott*, 207.
[2] Narrative printed in *Life of Scott*, 269.
[3] Letter quoted in *Life of Scott*, 287.
[4] *Life of Scott*, 279.

prepare as much copy as he thought would complete the current number, and then, when he had retired to bed, and taken an emetic, called up again to furnish more." This explains some of the peculiarities of the book. There are no quotations from the Fathers and no discussions of the views of other commentators. There was no time to read anything that any one else had written. A week was barely enough to think out his own interpretation, to compare it with parallel passages in other parts of the Bible, and to write it out in clear and fluent English.

Nor was the tyranny of the printer's boy his only trouble. Everything combined to deprive him of the quiet required for a task of this magnitude. His health broke down; asthma and fever made work ten times more difficult. His wife died. His congregation was divided by theological discussions, and the extreme Calvinists among them were trying to drive him from his position. His publisher proved a scoundrel. Before the sixteenth number appeared he announced that he had no more money, and that, if the work was to continue, the author must find the funds. With great difficulty Scott succeeded in borrowing what was needed, and then Bellamy promptly went bankrupt, and Scott found all his money lost, and he himself saddled with a debt of £500. "It was needful that the whole progress of the work should be stamped with mortification, perplexity, and disappointment, if the Lord meant me to do any good to others by it, and to preserve me from receiving essential hurt in my own soul. Four

years five months and a day[1] were employed in the work with unknown sorrow and vexation."[2]

And yet in its way it was a really great work. His aim was to "speak plainly and intelligibly to persons of ordinary capacity."[3] He set his face sternly against fanciful interpretations. He detested with all the strength of his sturdy Lincolnshire common sense writers who find the doctrine of the Trinity in Huppim, Muppim, and Ard, or the whole system of Pauline theology hidden in the tassels of the Tabernacle. His theory was that "every passage of Scripture has its literal and distinct meaning, which it is the first duty of a commentator to explain, and speaking generally the *spiritual meaning* is no other than this *real* meaning with its fair legitimate application to ourselves."[4] Thus to him the elaborate furniture of the Tabernacle suggests merely that we should offer our very best to God, and though he was writing through the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars, he fails to find them mentioned in Daniel or the Book of Revelation. To those who are accustomed to the mysticism of the Fathers and the subtleties of the Puritan divines no doubt this is disappointing; but he believed that the reverent way of approaching the Scriptures was to draw from them their own message, and not to weave in fanciful conceits of his own.

The success of the work was immediate: 37,000

[1] Begun January 2, 1788. Completed June 2, 1792.
[2] Letter quoted in *Life of Scott*, 282.
[3] Preface to *Commentary*. [4] *Life of Scott*, 636.

complete sets were sold in the author's life-time, which brought in to the publishers almost £200,000; yet so effectually did they muzzle the ox that was treading out the corn that Scott died, as he lived, quite a poor man. But he did not work for money, and he had his reward. The book is almost superseded now, but it profoundly influenced the religious life of its time. It was read aloud at family prayers in almost every Evangelical home, and it stamped its sane and sober methods on the minds of most of the party. To quote only one testimonial from a not very likely source, Cardinal Newman calls Scott, in his *Apologia*, "the writer who made a deeper impression on my mind than any other, and to whom, humanly speaking, I owe my soul." "It was he who first planted in my mind that fundamental truth of religion, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity." "What I admired was his resolute opposition to Antinomianism, and the minutely practical character of his writings." "For years I used almost as proverbs what I considered to be the scope and issue of his doctrine, *Holiness rather than peace*, and *Growth the only evidence of life*."[1] Scott left London in 1803 for the rectory of Aston Sandford, Bucks, where he died in 1821.

Robinson of Leicester.

In 1774 Thomas Robinson began his forty years' ministry in Leicester, being first Curate of St. Martin's, and then Vicar of St. Mary's. He was distinctly a learned man, a Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, who had been won to Evangelical views by reading *Theron and Aspasio;*

[1] *Apologia*, chap. I.

very grave and dignified in the pulpit—"he stood," we are told,[1] "as the messenger of heaven, and, unmoved by the presence of proud objectors or captious hearers, proclaimed 'Thus saith the Lord.'" Yet in the homes of his people he was full of merriment and fun, "the lively guest who paid richly for his entertainment by the pleasantry of his anecdote and conversation." At first he had to overcome the usual opposition; the churchwardens locked the doors against him, the choir bellowed the most unsuitable psalms instead of those which he instructed the clerk to announce; but soon new galleries had to be built to accommodate a thousand additional worshippers, and in his later years he exercised an influence in the town that cannot be over-estimated. As his fellow-townsman, Robert Hall, the famous dissenter, wrote:[2] "The revolution which Baxter accomplished at Kidderminster, Robinson effected at Leicester."

Clarke of Chesham Bois.

At Chesham Bois, a Buckinghamshire village with only twenty-four houses, Thomas Clarke was Rector from 1766 to 1793. He was perhaps the most learned of all the Evangelicals. Romaine called him the walking Synopsis—"he gives you the opinion of every commentator, and then gives his own, which is worth all the rest put together"; and Venn declared: "I will always take Clarke's opinion until Solomon rises from the dead"; yet he never published a book. His influence lives through the men he trained for Holy Orders;

[1] Vaughan's *Life of Robinson*, 231.
[2] Hall's *Character of Thomas Robinson*, 9.

the rectory was always full of pupils, and many of the best of the younger clergy, including Woodd, and Burn, and Jerram, and William Goode, owed not a little of their efficiency to the trouble he had taken with them.

Other Evangelicals were scattered here and there. Thomas Pentycross at St. Mary's, Wallingford, who got into serious trouble with the Bishop for habitually overcrowding his church, Newell at Great Missenden, Brodbelt at Aston Sandford, Talbot at Kineton, Cadogan at Reading; and towards the end of the century a tiny Northamptonshire village became an important Evangelical centre. Thomas Jones had been driven from parish to parish because of the doctrines that he preached — at Oswestry the Rural Dean had even beaten him on the head with a stick in a vain attempt to change his theological views—but at last (1785) Simeon procured for him the curacy of Creaton, with a stipend of £25 a year. He remained in this village of forty-six houses for nearly fifty years, lodging in the inn, as there was no parsonage and he could not afford a cottage, and proving himself a quite exemplary parish priest. He was no great preacher, but as a pastor and worker he was unequalled. For years the attendance at the Lord's Table on the first Sunday in the month never fell below eighty-five, which meant that the whole adult population of the village were communicants. A Sunday-school was started as soon as he came to the parish, and this was followed by a Dame-school, to teach the children

Jones of Creaton.

to read. Then a Sick Club and Clothing Club were formed, all very familiar now, but almost unheard of in those days. Then, with the profits of his books, he built six almshouses for aged widows. But his influence was also felt throughout the Church as a whole. He had found how difficult it was to live on £25 a year, even though he was a bachelor with few and simple wants; but there were scores of married curates who had no larger income: for their benefit he founded the Society for Poor Pious Clergymen, which, in the first eighteen years of its work, distributed more than £35,000. For many years, in the week after Easter, he used to invite all the Evangelical clergy of the surrounding counties for what would now be called a Retreat, when Simeon and other leaders preached; till the Bishop of Peterborough forbade the use of the church for such a purpose. But no Episcopal veto could stop the Autumn Clerical Meeting, when the Evangelicals used to sit in the kitchen of the inn, and discuss their work, and lay their plans, and counsel one another. Here, too, was founded the Creaton Clerical Education Society, which did for the Midlands what the Elland and Bristol Societies were doing elsewhere. It did not long survive its founder, but in thirty-eight years it made it possible for fifty Evangelical laymen to enter the Ministry. Jones had also the pen of a very ready writer, and a steady stream of devotional books, both in Welsh and English, carried the doctrines that he loved into thousands of homes and lives.

(e) AT THE UNIVERSITIES

What happened to the young men whom the Clerical Education Societies were raising money to support? At first they naturally turned to Oxford, which they knew as the birthplace of Methodism; but they found the College authorities quite unsympathetic. The Common Room world had never forgiven Wesley his plain-spoken sermons, and it had often been decided, as the bottles of port went round, that it was the duty of a University to stamp out emotionalism in religion. The only Evangelical Church was St. Mary Magdalene, where Haweis, who was afterwards at the Lock Chapel, was at that time Curate. This church was put out of bounds for all undergraduates, and the proctors visited it every Sunday to see that none were present; and later the Bishop of Oxford was persuaded to withdraw Haweis' licence.

Oxford.

James Stillingfleet, Fellow of Merton, then became the leader of the little band of Evangelicals, and to avoid disturbance in the Colleges borrowed a drawing-room in the town in which to meet his undergraduate friends for prayer and Bible study. Great was the indignation in the Common Rooms when this was known, and it was decided to strike at once a decisive blow. In February, 1768, one of the tutors of St. Edmund Hall made a formal complaint before the Principal that there were among the undergraduates "several enthusiasts who talked of regeneration, inspiration,

The St. Edmund Hall Case.

and drawing nigh to God,"[1] and when the Head declined to take action, appealed to the Vice-Chancellor to hold a Court of Inquiry. The scene which followed reads like a page from mediæval history. The dingy little chapel of St. Edmund Hall crowded with noisy gownsmen. The Quad outside and Queen's Lane full of those unable to get in. The solemn procession of red-robed doctors from the University church. The seven students, nervous and bewildered, standing before their judges. The reading of the formidable accusation,[2] charging them with being enemies of the Church, frequenters of an illegal conventicle, and men destitute of learning. Higson, the accuser, voluble and vehement, explaining that the first point meant that they held "the doctrines of Election, Perseverance, and Justification by Faith without Works," and that they were "connected with reputed Methodists, Mr. Venn, Mr. Newton, Mr. Fletcher":[3] that the second point referred to the meeting in old Mrs. Durbridge's drawing-room; and as to the third point, producing a long piece of crabbed Latin from the University Statutes, and challenging the unhappy young men to translate it on the spur of the moment before that critical and excited crowd. Two accomplished the feat with ease, and were equally successful with a passage from the Greek Testament, but the other five stumbled horribly, and he claimed that his point

[1] *Pietas Oxoniensis*, 3.
[2] Given in full in Nowell's *Answer to Pietas Oxoniensis*, p. 18.
[3] *Pietas Oxoniensis*, 11.

was proved. In addition to this he charged three of them with the offence of having been tradesmen before they came to Oxford. Dr. Dixon, Principal of the Hall, rose cool and sarcastic. He reminded Mr. Higson that the doctrines he mentioned were taught in the Thirty-nine Articles, declared that the conduct of the accused had been excellent—"he never remembered seven youths whose lives were so exemplary,"[1] and suggested that even if they had rather too much religion, the Court would be more profitably employed in inquiring into the lives of those who had too little. The seven said nothing, except that they were willing to abandon any meeting which the authorities thought undesirable. But Dr. Durell and his assessors had already made up their minds. Six of the seven were found guilty, and sentenced to be expelled from the Hall and University. The decision was considered as final, and other colleges followed suit. Magdalen, for example, sent a man down "for having been tainted with Methodistical principles."[2] Wherever an undergraduate was suspected of sympathy with the Revival, he was asked in a way which he could not refuse to remove his name from the books, "and thus," wrote Dr. Nowell,[3] the Principal of St. Mary Hall, "were disappointed the hopes of those who were desirous of filling the Church with their votaries."

Foiled at Oxford, the Evangelical leaders turned

[1] *Pietas Oxoniensis.* Dedication.
[2] Nowell's *Answer to Pietas Oxoniensis*, 26.
[3] *An Answer to Pietas Oxoniensis*, 1.

to Cambridge, but here the prospect for a time seemed equally discouraging. Venn of Huddersfield had the greatest difficulty in finding a college that would consent to admit his son. The first to break down this wall of prejudice was the gentle William Farish, a profound scientist and humble Christian and Fellow of Magdalene. With the greatest difficulty he persuaded his college to receive the men whom the Elland Society were helping to train for the Ministry. Here they were tolerated, but nothing more, for Gretton, the Master, was always hostile, protesting against the college being turned into "a nest of Methodists."

Cambridge.

But the position was entirely changed in 1788, when Isaac Milner, the younger brother of Joseph Milner of Hull, was appointed President of Queens'. A big North Countryman, who had forced his way up, by sheer strength of character and intellect, from a weaver's loom, he had been not only Senior Wrangler, but so far ahead of his competitors that the examiners had added the word *Incomparabilis* to his name: and in his new post he showed that he was not afraid of difficulties. The college at that time was in very low water; its numbers had sunk from over two hundred to less than sixty; and Milner decided on a bold and startling revolution. The religious traditions of Queens' were strongly Latitudinarian, but the new President, like his brother, was a keen Evangelical, and he determined to make his college a sort of School of the Prophets, the stronghold of Evan-

Isaac Milner.

gelicalism in Cambridge. Of course there was much opposition, but Milner was not by any means an easy man to crush; the tutors who opposed him had to resign or retire to country livings, and as the appointment of their successors rested with the President alone, soon, as a contemporary wrote,[1] "he acquired such entire ascendency over the Fellows that after a few years no one thought of offering the slightest opposition to his will." Under his benevolent despotism the college prospered mightily. Evangelical parents sent their sons, young Evangelicals seeking ordination came from all parts of the country, and before long, instead of being one of the smallest colleges, Queens' became one of the largest in the whole University. Even his appointment to the Deanery of Carlisle (1791) made no difference to his work. He gave his vacations to the cathedral, but the terms to his college. In the course of a long and honourable life he gained many distinctions, but we remember him as the man who fought and won the battle which made a university education possible for avowed Evangelicals.

Charles Simeon.

Milner's work was supplemented by that of Charles Simeon. One gathered the men together and the other trained them. Simeon had come up to King's from Eton a wild undergraduate, famous for his love of horses and extravagance in dress; but one day he discovered that the rules of the college compelled him to receive the Communion on the following

[1] H. Gunning's *Reminiscences of Cambridge.*

CHARLES SIMEON

FROM A CAMBRIDGE CARICATURE PUBLISHED IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS DEATH

Sunday. He had lived in an utterly careless home, but he knew enough of religion to realise that attendance at the Lord's Table was a serious thing, which should not be undertaken without some preparation. Not quite knowing what to do, he went to a bookseller's shop, and bought a copy of Bishop Wilson on the Lord's Supper, and learned from it for the first time the meaning of the Atonement. This was the turning point in his life. Henceforth all his energy was concentrated in a single channel. His one ambition was to make all Cambridge grasp this doctrine too.

He became Fellow of his college, and then took Holy Orders, and was appointed (1783) Minister of Trinity Church, by the Market Place. Here he learnt what it meant to be known as an Evangelical. The seat-holders deserted the church in a body, and locked the great doors of the pews, so that no one else should use them. When Simeon placed forms in the aisles, the churchwardens threw them out into the churchyard, and for more than ten years his congregation had to stand. Rowdy bands of undergraduates used to try to break up the service. "For many years," wrote one of his contemporaries,[1] "Trinity Church and the streets leading to it were the scenes of the most disgraceful tumults. In vain did Simeon exert himself to preserve order. In vain did Farish, who was popular with the undergraduates, station himself outside the door to prevent improper conduct; though one undergraduate,

[1] H. Gunning, *Reminiscences of Cambridge*, II, 138.

who had been apprehended by Simeon, was compelled to read a public apology, the disturbances still continued." "Those who worshipped at Trinity," wrote another,[1] "were supposed to have left common sense, discretion, sobriety, attachment to the Established Church, love of the liturgy, and whatever else is true and of good report, in the vestibule."

But Simeon went on with his work with quiet pertinacity, never deliberately doing anything to provoke opposition, but never flinching from declaring what he knew to be the truth, and won first toleration, and then recognition as the most inspiring teacher in Cambridge. Trinity Church was always crowded with undergraduates. His Friday Conversation Circle for the discussion of religious questions, his Bible Class and Doctrine Class never failed to fill his room at King's with eager young disciples, and especially his famous Sermon Class, in which most of the Evangelical preachers of the next generation were trained. And this continued for fifty years with results which no man can estimate. A teacher so wise, so genial, so spiritual, moulding the lives of the men from whom the bulk of the clergy were drawn, acquired a position almost unique in the English Church. "If you knew what his authority and influence were," wrote Lord Macaulay,[2] who was himself at Cambridge in Simeon's later days, "and how they extended from Cambridge

[1] Sargent, *Memoir of Thomason*, 83.

[2] Letter to his sister, quoted in Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay*, chap. I.

to the most remote corners of England, you would allow that his real sway in the Church was far greater than that of any Primate." Down to comparatively modern times in undergraduate slang an earnest Christian was always called a "Sim."

To-day his name is best known in connexion with his Trust. His attention had been called early to the question of Church Patronage. He saw men like Newton and Scott and Romaine, some of the most efficient and godly clergy in the Church, remaining unbeneficed almost to the end of their lives, while utterly worthless and useless idlers were able to secure important livings for the sake of the loaves and fishes. "The greatest reform that the Church needs," he wrote to the Bishop of Oxford, "is an improvement in the method of appointing to the cure of souls." Some money, which he inherited through a brother's death, gave him his opportunity, and he determined to buy the patronage of a certain number of livings. "Others purchase income," he wrote,[1] "I purchase spheres of work." As years passed on, other Evangelicals gave money for the same purpose, or handed over to him livings that were in their gift, and in this way arose the Simeon Trust, which has the right of appointing to more than a hundred parishes, including some of the most important in the country. The wording of the Trust Deed is very characteristic of the man.[2] "In the Name and in the Presence of

The Simeon Trust.

[1] Letter printed in Carus' *Life*, chap. XXXIII.

[2] Carus' *Life of Simeon*, chap. XXXI.

Almighty God," he wrote, "I give the following charge to all my trustees and to all who shall succeed them in the Trust to the remotest ages. I implore them for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and I charge them also before that adorable Saviour, Who will call them into judgement for their execution of this trust, Firstly, That they be very careful whenever they shall be called upon *to fill up a vacancy in this Trust*, which they must invariably do within three months of a vacancy occurring, that they elect no one who is not a truly pious and devoted man, a man of God in deed and in truth, who, with his piety, combines a solid judgement and a perfectly independent mind. And I place this first, because a failure in this one particular would utterly defeat, and that in perpetuity too, all that I have sought to do for God and for immortal souls. Secondly, That when they be called upon *to appoint to a Living*, they consult nothing but the welfare of the people, for whom they are to provide, and whose eternal interests have been confided to them. They must on no account be influenced by any solicitation of the great and powerful, or by any partiality towards a particular individual, or by compassion towards anyone on account of the largeness of his family or the smallness of his income. They must be particularly on their guard against petitions from the parishes to be provided for, whether on behalf of a curate that has laboured among them or of any other individual. They must examine carefully, and judge as before God, how far any person possesses the qualifications

suited to the particular parish, and by that consideration *alone* they must be determined in their appointment of him."

Another pillar of the Evangelical cause at Cambridge was Joseph Jowett, Regius Professor of Civil Law and Tutor of Trinity Hall (1775–95), whose sermons at St. Edward's used to draw large congregations; while Yelling, the parish to which Venn of Huddersfield retired (1771–97), was within a ride of the city, and many undergraduates used to find their way to the rectory, when they were in need of counsel and advice.

Towards the end of the century Oxford again became open to Evangelicals, and St. Edmund Hall, under Crouch and Daniel Wilson, resumed its work of training those who were hoping to take Orders. But the identification of the party with the weakest of all the colleges, and the fact that Simeon's name drew most of the keenest men to Cambridge, prevented Evangelicalism from gaining much real power in Oxford; for years it was only the rather mysterious "religion of Teddy Hall."

Oxford.

(f) IN THE SOUTH-EAST AND EAST

When the names of the Evangelical clergy are gathered together in a single chapter they look a considerable body, but it must not be forgotten how isolated they were. In parts of Yorkshire and Cornwall they formed compact little groups, but in all

the other counties for every one Evangelical parish there were ten or twenty parishes round hostile and unsympathetic. And when we come to the south-east and eastern counties, there were hardly any Evangelicals to be found at all. In Kent there was Vincent Perronet, Vicar of Shoreham, near Sevenoaks (1728–85), "the Archbishop of Methodism," a gentle, generous, studious old man, living a patriarchal life with his twelve children around him, the only man who was able to curb the strong will of Wesley. At Bexley was his friend Henry Piers (1739–69), who had had in early days Charles Wesley as his curate. In Essex Robert Storry, Adam's curate, was Vicar of St. Peter's, Colchester (1781–1814), and William Cawthorne Unwin, Cowper's friend, Rector of Stock near Ramsden (1769–86). At Rauceby, in South Lincolnshire, John Pugh was Vicar (1771–99), a stern disciplinarian, probably the last clergyman to insist on offenders doing penance by wearing a white sheet in church. But Mr. Lecky's statement that "before the close of the century the Evangelical movement had become dominant in England"[1] is manifestly a mistake. Even Mr. Gladstone's calculation[2] that the Evangelicals at this time formed about one in twenty of the clergy is probably an over-estimate. They were certainly the most earnest and vigorous party in the Church, but numerically they were still a very small minority.

[1] *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, II, 627.

[2] *British Quarterly Review*, July, 1879. "The Evangelical Movement."

(g) DOCTRINES AND METHODS

The Evangelicals did not invent any new theology. They simply taught the old doctrines of the Reformation—the doctrine of the Trinity (as opposed to the current semi-Socinianism), the guilt of man, his acceptance only through the merits of Christ, renewal and sanctification by the Holy Spirit, and the obligation of universal holiness. They accepted the Thirty-nine Articles as an almost perfect summary of the Faith. On the vexed question of Calvinism there was no hard line of division; a few, like Romaine, and Toplady, and Hawker, were extreme Calvinists or rather Augustinians; a few, like Fletcher, on the other hand, were extreme Arminians; but the majority learnt the lesson of the Calvinistic controversy, that to certain metaphysical questions there can be no logical answer. "Scripture," wrote Simeon,[1] "is broader and more comprehensive than some very dogmatical theologians are inclined to allow, and as wheels in a complicated machine may move in opposite directions and yet subserve one common end, so may truths apparently opposite equally subserve the purposes of God in the accomplishment of man's salvation. There is not a decided Calvinist or Arminian in the world, who, if he had been in the company of St. Paul, whilst he was writing his Epistles, would not have recommended him to alter his expressions."

Doctrine.

[1] Preface to *Horæ Homileticæ*.

And while many of the Evangelicals called themselves "Moderate Calvinists," they often meant little more than that they looked at life from the point of view beautifully expressed in the words of the hymn :—

> Let me no more my comfort draw
> From my frail hold of Thee,
> In this alone rejoice with awe,
> Thy mighty grasp of me.

Their methods of work have already been described in the account that has been given of the various parishes. On three points, however, a little more may be said. Like the Methodists, they formed their converts into small societies, and much of their time was given to superintending these. "Preaching kindles the fire," wrote Berridge,[1] "but Societies nurse and keep the flame alive." "My judgement decidedly is," said Simeon,[2] "that without Societies the people will never be kept together, nor will they ever feel related to their minister as children to a parent, nor will the minister himself take that lively interest in their welfare, which it is both his duty and his happiness to feel." But towards the end of the century it began to be seen that these Societies were very difficult to manage: some lay at the mercy of a few loquacious members, others tended to become nurseries of unreal religious emotions; so that when the subject was discussed (1800) by the Eclectic

The Societies.

[1] Preface to *Collection of Divine Songs*.

[2] Quoted in Carus' *Life of Simeon*, chap. XIII.

Society,[1] almost all the speakers seemed to acknowledge that the difficulties outweighed the benefits, and as a matter of fact in the next generation these meetings were gradually abandoned.

The greatest change which the Evangelicals made in the Church Service was the introduction of hymn-singing. Hitherto nothing had been allowed but metrical psalms. Sternhold and Hopkins' Version was still the one most generally used, though the "New Version" by Tate and Brady had been adopted by many of the town churches. These psalms, which were sung by the choir alone, or by the parish clerk, were everywhere regarded as a sort of voluntary or interlude in the service, during which the congregation sat and rested, and often chatted. "Psalm-singing," wrote Berridge,[2] "is become a vulgar business in our churches. The tax of praise is collected from a solitary clerk or some bawling voices in a singing loft: the congregation may listen if they please or talk in whispers or take a gentle nap." "Among us," wrote Romaine of the London Churches,[3] "psalmody is performed by some few, set by themselves in a singing gallery, where they sing to be admired for their fine voices, and others hear them for their entertainment." The Evangelicals set to work to reform this. The first and by no means easy task was to get the congregation to stand. "I will only mention

Hymn-singing.

[1] See Pratt's *Eclectic Notes* (July, 1800).

[2] Preface to *Collection of Divine Songs*, 1760.

[3] Preface to *Collection out of the Book of Psalms*, 1775.

one thing more," wrote Romaine, in the preface of his Hymn Book, "which is a great impropriety, and to me very offensive, and that is the posture generally used in singing. When subjects go upon any joyful occasion to address their sovereign, is it the custom of any nation of the world to do it sitting? Does the person who pays homage sit, or he who receives it?" "But," he added, knowing that many would refuse to abandon the old custom, "if you think otherwise, and prefer sitting, lolling, or any lazy, indolent posture, I will not unchristian you. We may differ and not quarrel." The next step was to give the people something worth singing, and many of the leading Evangelicals began to compile hymn books. Martin Madan's *Psalms and Hymns* was the first issued (1760); this was a small book, intended for use in the Lock Chapel, but, though it contained only one hundred and forty-two hymns, owing to its bright and joyous spirit and high literary standard it was rapidly adopted by many congregations. In the same year Berridge issued his *Collection of Divine Songs*, a far larger book, but less satisfactory. Conyers of Helmsley (1767), Romaine (1775), De Courcy (1775), Toplady (1776), Simpson (1776), Joseph Milner (1780), Cadogan (1785), John Venn (1785), Cecil (1785), Robinson (before 1790), Woodd (1794), Simeon (1795)—all published collections, adapted to their own tastes and those of their congregations. There was considerable variety among them. The most conservative was Romaine's; for he did not include a single hymn,

and almost all the psalms were taken from Sternhold and Hopkins, though occasionally one was admitted from the Scotch version; but he only printed the most edifying verses, and gave short introductions, explaining the devotional meaning Cecil's book was also conservative — not till the seventh edition were any hymns admitted—but he drew his psalms from every source, including Milton and Addison, and produced a beautiful collection On the other hand Robinson of Leicester went to the opposite extreme, and excluded all psalms from the old versions. The other books combined the old and the new with more or less happy results, the most remarkable being Simpson of Macclesfield's on account of its size—more than six hundred hymns and a number of anthems—and Basil Woodd's with its special hymns for every Sunday in the year "adapted to the Epistle and Gospel of the day." Soon one or other of these books was adopted by practically all the clergy of the party, and hearty congregational singing became a marked feature of an Evangelical service. Churchmen of other schools, however, still rigidly adhered to the two old versions, and denounced hymns as a most deplorable and disloyal innovation.

Sunday-schools.

In 1780 Robert Raikes, the editor of the *Gloucester Journal*, opened his first Sunday-school in Sooty Alley, and so introduced another new method of work. It was not quite a novelty. Luther had formed Sunday-schools in Germany during the Reformation, and

Cardinal Borromeo had used them at Milan in the seventeenth century, and a few schools were already at work in England: there was one at Catterick in 1764, founded by Theophilus Lindsay, the Socinian Vicar, and another at High Wycombe in 1769 worked by Hannah Ball, a young Methodist, and Simpson of Macclesfield had opened his in 1778, but the system attracted little attention till the Gloucester experiment. Raikes was a rich Evangelical layman, a friend of the Wesleys and Whitefield — Charles Wesley often stayed with him for the Musical Festival—yet a staunch Churchman and a regular attendant at the daily cathedral service. He had begun his philanthropic work as a prison reformer, but, on the principle that prevention is better than cure, he turned his attention to the little ragamuffins who were running wild in the streets. With the help of Thomas Stock, the Curate of St. John the Baptist's, he arranged with four decent women, "to receive so many children as I should send on Sunday, whom they were to instruct in reading and in the Church Catechism. For this I engaged to pay them each a shilling."[1] "The children were to come soon after ten in the morning and stay till twelve; they were then to go home and return at one, and after reading a lesson they were to be conducted to church. After church they were to be employed in repeating the Catechism till half after five, and then to be dismissed with an injunction to go home without making a noise and by no means to play in the streets."[2] Mr. Stock "engaged to lend

[1] Letter in *Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1784.
[2] Letter in *Arminian Magazine*, June, 1785.

his assistance by going round to the schools on Sunday afternoon to examine the progress that was made and to enforce order."[1] There were at first endless difficulties over discipline. The wilder spirits had to be hobbled like cattle with logs of wood before any attempt could be made to march them to church; but before long Raikes succeeded in winning the children's affection, and sometimes as many as fifty little urchins would join him of their own accord at the daily cathedral service.

For three years he said little about his experiment, but by 1783 he was sufficiently satisfied with the result to insert a short description of the schools in the *Gloucester Journal*. This paragraph was copied by some of the London papers, and general attention was attracted to the scheme. The Evangelical clergy took up the matter warmly. In 1783 Fletcher started six schools at Madeley, and Wilson opened one at Slaithwaite; in 1784 schools were founded by Cornelius Bayley at Manchester and Miles Atkinson at Leeds, and Wesley wrote in his *Journal*,[2] "I find these schools springing up wherever I go; perhaps God may have a deeper end therein than men are aware of." In 1785 Cowper wrote to Newton,[3] "Mr. Scott called upon us yesterday. He is much inclined to set up a Sunday-school. Mr. Jones[4] has had one some time at Clifton, and Mr. Unwin writes me word

[1] Letter in *Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1784.

[2] *Journal*, July 18, 1784.

[3] Letter, September 24, 1785. *Correspondence*.

[4] Thomas Jones, Curate of Clifton Reynes, one of the students expelled from St. Edmund Hall.

that he has been thinking of nothing else day and night for a fortnight." In 1786 Richardson founded the York Church of England Sunday School Society with Edward Stillingfleet as secretary, which began with ten schools and enrolled more than five hundred children on the first Sunday; by this time the movement was spreading rapidly in all parts of the country.

In many ways these early schools differed from those of to-day. There were no school buildings, so the classes had to be held in cottages. There was little other education, so the first thing to do was to teach the children to read; otherwise they could make no use of Bible, Prayer Book, or Hymn Book. Hence the long hours from ten to half-past five, and the fact that up to the end of the century all the teachers were paid, the usual rate being a shilling a week. This made a Sunday-school rather an expensive matter; nor was this the only difficulty. The movement had to face an immense amount of ignorant opposition. The parents sometimes believed that the children were being gathered together to be sold as slaves in the colonies. Bishop Horsley, the leading Bishop of the day, declared[1] that there was "much ground for suspicion that sedition and atheism were the real objects of some of these institutions." It is said that the Pitt Cabinet seriously contemplated a bill to suppress Sunday-schools altogether. It is very curious to read the pamphlets which "good Churchmen" wrote against this and many other

[1] *Charge*, 1800.

methods which are now accepted by all as part of the Church's system. Few in those days would have dared to prophesy that two such utterly "enthusiastical" things as hymn-singing and Sunday-schools would before long be in use in practically every parish in the country.

FOR FURTHER STUDY. Overton's *Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century*. Ryle's *Christian Leaders of the Last Century* (i.e. Whitefield, Wesley, Grimshaw, Romaine, Rowlands, Berridge, Venn, Walker, Hervey, Toplady, Fletcher). Seeley's *Later Evangelical Fathers* (i.e. Thornton, Newton, Cowper, Scott, Cecil, Wilberforce, Simeon, Martyn, Pratt). *Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon*, by a Member of the Houses of Shirley and Hastings. Overton and Relton's *History of the English Church from Accession of George I to End of Eighteenth Century*. Stephen's *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, Essay VIII, "The Evangelical Succession." Middleton's *Ecclesiastical Memoir of the First Four Decades of the Reign of George III.* Sidney's *Life of Sir Richard Hill.*

(*a*) **London.** Cadogan's *Life of Romaine. Memoirs of Cecil*, by his widow. Wilks' *Memoir of Basil Woodd.* Pratt's *Eclectic Notes. Life of A. Pattrick* (Christian Biography). Hole's "Memoir of Lord Dartmouth," *Record*, July 25, 1884; of Jones of St. Saviour's, *Record*, August 15, 1884—for Abdy, see Hole's Article, "On Historic Ground," *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, February, 1901. *Dictionary of National Biography*—Romaine, Thornton, Cecil, Woodd, Pattrick.

(*b*) **The North.** Spence Hardy's *Life of Grimshaw*. *Life of Venn*, by his son. Venn's *Annals of a Clerical Family*. "Life of Milner," by his brother, prefixed to his *Practical Sermons*, Vol. I. "Life of Adam," by Stillingfleet, prefixed to his *Posthumous Works*. Morgan's *Parish Priest* (for J. Crosse). Hulbert's *Annals of the Church in Slaithwaite*. "Memoir of Miles Atkinson," prefixed to his *Practical Sermons*. For J. Milner and Richardson, see Hole's "Biographical Sketches," *Christian Observer*, 1877. Hole's "Memoir of Basset," *Record*, August 29, 1884. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*—Grimshaw, Venn, Milner, Adam, Overton, Crosse, Atkinson, Simpson.

(*c*) **The West.** Tyerman's *Wesley's Designated Successor* (i.e. Fletcher). Macdonald's *Fletcher of Madeley*. Seed's *John and Mary Fletcher*. Marrat's *Vicar of Madeley*. Row's *Memoir of Toplady*. William's *Life of Hawker*. Sidney's *Life of Walker* (second edition). For Walker, Conon, Thomson, Bennet, Hill, Michell, Penrose, Vowler, Phelp, and Vivian, see Hole's "Biographical Sketches," *Christian Observer*, 1877; *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*—Fletcher, Griffith Jones, Rowlands, William Williams, David Jones, Toplady, Hawker, Walker.

(*d*) **The Midlands.** Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists* (for Hervey). Newton's *Autobiography*. Bull's *Life of Newton*. Wright's *Town of Cowper*. Wright's *Life of Cowper*. Goldwin Smith's *William Cowper*. Cowper's *Letters*, edited by Wright. Scott's Autobiography, *The Force of Truth*. *Life of Scott*, by his son. Vaughan's *Life of Robinson*. Romsey's *Reminiscences of a Schoolboy* (for Clarke of Chesham Bois). Owen's *Memoir of Jones of Creaton*. Whittingham's "Memoir of Berridge," prefixed to his *Works*. Hole's "Memoir of Talbot," *Record*, August 22, 1884. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*—Hervey, Berridge, Newton, Cowper, Scott, Robinson, T. Jones.

(*e*) **Universities.** For the St. Edmund's Hall Case: R. Hill's *Pietas Oxoniensis* and T. Nowell's *Answer to "Pietas Oxoniensis."* For Cambridge: *Life of Isaac Milner*, by his niece. Carus' *Life of Simeon.* Moule's *Charles Simeon.* Abner Brown's *Recollections of Simeon's Conversation Parties. Memoir of Jas. Scholefield*, by his widow. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*—Milner, Simeon, Farish, Jowett.

(*f*) **South-east and East.** *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*—Perronet, Unwin. Hole's "Memoir of Pugh," *Record*, September 12, 1884.

(*g*) **Sunday Schools.** Gregory's *Robert Raikes, Journalist and Philanthropist.* Eastman's *Robert Raikes and Northamptonshire Sunday Schools.* Bain's *Early History of Sunday Schools.* Howard's *Historical Sketch of the Origin of York Sunday Schools.* Mayer's *Who was the Founder of Sunday Schools?* Harris' *Story of the Sunday School. Dict. of Nat. Biog.*—Raikes.

CHAPTER V

THE CLAPHAM SECT

"*Is not this the fast that I have chosen—to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?*"

EVANGELICALISM had now become a power in the land. Its churches on Sunday were crowded to the doors; thousands were attending its week-night meetings for prayer and Bible-study. The time had come when the decisive test must be applied. A tree is known by its fruit. Would the movement fade away in a weak and selfish pietism, or would it produce strong, enduring, masculine results? The answer came from Clapham. This was still a village of nightingales, though the number of its human inhabitants had increased to more than two thousand. Three miles of pleasant meadows lay between it and London; but round the common, a glorious wilderness of gorse bushes and gravel pits and ponds, had sprung up quite a number of substantial houses, built by merchants and members of Parliament, who wished to live in the country and yet keep close to the City. John Venn was Rector (1792–1813), a son of

Clapham and its Rector.

Venn of Huddersfield, no genius, but a solid, sensible, persevering man, who, after the usual preliminary struggle, and mass meetings of his opponents at the Plough Inn, had succeeded in organizing his parish on vigorous Evangelical lines, including two things then regarded as amazing novelties—a Sunday evening service and a system of district-visiting. One trifling incident shows the light in which his work was regarded by the Church authorities. A lady, who was staying at Fulham Palace, wished to pay him a visit, but the Bishop would only lend her his carriage on condition that she would get down at a neighbouring public-house; the episcopal horses must not be seen at the door of an Evangelical vicarage. Nevertheless Venn preached every Sunday to what was, perhaps, the most notable congregation in all England.

The Clapham Laymen.

Various causes had brought to the village a remarkable group of laymen, devoted to the Church, fervent in prayer, drawing the whole inspiration of their lives from a diligent study of the Bible, at the same time men whose brains and brilliancy could not be denied even by those who sneered at their religion. The House of Commons had few members whom it respected more than Henry Thornton, banker and financier, born and bred in Clapham, a true son of John Thornton[1] in benevolence and business capacity. Next door to him lived William Wilberforce, the light-hearted member for Yorkshire, whom Pitt and Burke declared to be the greatest orator of the

[1] See p. 59.

age. Close by were the homes of Charles Grant, Chairman of the East India Company, the grave, grey-eyed ruler of the rulers of the East, and James Stephen, the famous advocate, whose learning and fervour in the Law Courts few were able to withstand. Their neighbours were men who had held important administrative posts abroad; Zachary Macaulay, Governor of Sierra Leone in the days of the French invasion, and Lord Teignmouth, who for five years had been Governor-General of India. It would not be easy to find anywhere a group of public men more capable and experienced than this circle of friends, whom Sydney Smith in the *Edinburgh Review* nicknamed "The Clapham Sect."

Their Private Life.

They were all rich and prosperous men, living in large houses, well-clothed, well-fed, driving well-groomed horses, and the outside world was apt to scoff at all this ease in Zion. "In Egypt itself," sneered Thackeray,[1] "there were not more savoury fleshpots than at Clapham." But little did the critics guess the almost monastic self-discipline by which these well-to-do Christians ordered each day of their lives. They moved in Society, they were given to hospitality, because they believed it a duty. "My business is in the world," wrote Wilberforce, "and I must mix in the assemblies of men, or quit the part which Providence seems to have assigned to me"; but every temptation to self-indulgence was rigidly held in check. Like all Evangelicals in those days, they

[1] *The Newcomes*, chap. II.

were very early risers, for they realised intensely the value of time. Every hour was mapped out beforehand; some of Wilberforce's time-tables were discovered after his death—so many hours for prayer, so many for study, so many for business, so many for rest, and a column at the end in which to enter all the time that had been squandered. They made a point of setting apart three hours a day for prayer—from five to six in the morning, from twelve to one at noon, and from five to six in the evening. Above all, they regarded their wealth as not their own, but God's: a business man's ledger is always the best commentary on his religion. Here is a brief example of what Thornton did with his money:—[1]

1790	Charity	£2260	All other expenses		£1543
1791	„	3960	„	„	1817
1792	„	7508	„	„	1616
1793	„	6680	„	„	1988

Of Thornton's scrupulous commercial integrity one story must be sufficient. He heard that many had given credit to a firm, which was hopelessly embarrassed, because it was supposed that his bank was backing them. He was not in the least responsible for the mistake, but he would not allow others to suffer through a misinterpretation of anything he had done, and he cheerfully paid all that was owing, though it cost him no less than £20,000.

[1] Letter to *Guardian*, June 19, 1907, signed "A Grand-daughter of H. Thornton."

But the best proof of what following Christ meant to Venn's congregation may be seen in the work that they accomplished. As soldiers of the Cross they struck fearlessly at every stronghold of the enemy. The iniquitous slave trade was at this time "converting one quarter of the earth into the nearest possible resemblance of what we conceive of hell."[1] Stephen had seen it in the West Indies, and Macaulay had seen it in Africa, and they could describe it to the others as it really was,—the sudden night raid on some peaceful native village, the dragging of men and women and children in chains to the coast, the long, slow voyage across the Atlantic, the filth and stench of the poisonous hold, where the slaves were packed in layers, and then the work on the sugar plantations beneath the overseer's whip. More than two hundred English vessels were engaged in this work, yet such is the blinding influence of custom, that even good men—let us be candid, even good Evangelicals—saw no harm in it. Whitefield bought slaves for his orphanage in Georgia, and Newton continued in the business for some years after his conversion. But now this small suburban coterie quietly resolved to make such traffic impossible. The opposition was tremendous. An immense amount of English capital was invested in the trade. The ship-owners, the merchants, the planters, the financiers at once were up in arms. The cry was raised that Liverpool would be ruined,

The Fight with the Slave Trade.

[1] Stephen's *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography.* "The Clapham Sect."

that the Colonies would be lost, that the negroes would rise when they heard the news and massacre their masters. The King was firmly persuaded that these pious gentlemen at Clapham were a dangerous gang of ultra-revolutionists plotting a Reign of Terror. The official classes boiled over with indignation. "I was bred in the good old school," wrote Lord Nelson from the *Victory*, "and taught to appreciate the value of our West Indian possessions, and neither in the field nor the Senate shall their just rights be infringed, while I have an arm to fight in their defence, or a tongue to launch my voice against the damnable doctrine of Wilberforce and his hypocritical allies."[1]

The struggle lasted twenty years. Wilberforce first took up the question in 1787, and not till 1807 was the slave trade made illegal. Eleven times the Bill was introduced, debated, and defeated. Sometimes the Commons decided to hear evidence at the Bar; later the Lords decided to do the same thing; witnesses had to be collected from all parts of the world; the witnesses on the other side had to be cross-examined, and their false assertions thoroughly exposed. Public opinion had to be educated by an endless succession of meetings. Hundreds of pamphlets had to be written, committees of one kind or another attended almost daily, petitions organized, deputations headed, Cabinet Ministers and newspaper editors interviewed and instructed. The work was simply overwhelming. At one time the friends

[1] Letter quoted in Lady Knutsford's *Life of Z. Macaulay*, 258.

agreed to sacrifice one night's rest a week in order to sift the mass of evidence that was pouring in. But at last, in spite of hope deferred, the victory was won; their opponents were either silenced or converted; the Bill was carried by 283 to 16, and one of what Mr. Lecky calls[1] "the three or four perfectly virtuous acts recorded in the history of nations" was accomplished. Not a single historian expresses a doubt as to where the credit is due. Quakers and Methodists played their part, towards the end all that was best in the country was united on this subject; but the men who bore the brunt of the fight, who supplied the leaders, who supplied the organization, who supplied the enthusiasm, who supplied the funds, were the Evangelicals in the Church of England. As Dr. Overton has written,[2] "It was not only Evangelicals, but Evangelicalism, that abolished the slave trade"; the doctrines these men held compelled them to do the work.

The "Christian Observer."

But meanwhile they found time for other interests too. Till now Evangelicals had possessed no organ in the Press through which they could communicate one with another, and appeal to the outside world. At the beginning of the century, however, the Eclectic Society took the matter up, and in January, 1802, there appeared a new monthly review called the *Christian Observer*. Macaulay was editor, Thornton found the funds, and all the Clapham circle were constant contri-

[1] Lecky's *European Morals*, I, 160.

[2] *English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, 77.

butors. The cheapest magazine in those days was the half-crown *British Critic*, but the *Observer's* price was boldly fixed at one shilling, and it rapidly secured a large circulation. It is interesting to turn over the pages of some of the early numbers. It usually began with a historical article—first a number of careful studies of lives of the early Fathers, and later a series of sketches of the Reformation. Then followed theological papers, "Thoughts on the Atonement," "The Evidences of a State of Salvation," and some brightly-written paragraphs called "The Cry of Injured Texts." Next came a lighter essay of the kind that Addison had made popular, "The Country Squire," "The Art of Peacemaking," and a series of Character Sketches, in which Thornton gently satirized the Church failings of the period. After this a Review of Reviews criticised the other magazines, and broke many a lance with the *Edinburgh*, which was then in its mordant youth; while the closing Summary of the Month was generally the best part of all; these Claphamites had so intimate a knowledge of various parts of the world and access to so many sources of private information that what they wrote was always accurate, graphic, and enlightening. The preparation of the *Observer* involved an immense amount of monthly labour, but it put the party in quite a new position. The very ferocity of the attacks in the *Edinburgh Review* showed that Evangelicalism was now a foe to be feared.

There is one name that we have not yet men-

tioned. Hannah More lived far from Clapham, but for all intents and purposes she was one of the band. This gay, vivacious little poetess, the friend of Garrick and Sir Joshua Reynolds, of Johnson and Horace Walpole, had fallen under the influence of Newton (1787) and "become serious." Her new interests had brought her closely into touch with Wilberforce, and one day (1789) he paid her a visit in her Somerset home. While there he made an expedition to the Mendip Hills, from which he returned so pale and quiet that his hostess thought him ill. The sights he had seen in those mining villages had utterly horrified him; the poverty, the depravity, the degradation had made his blood run cold. The Vicar of Cheddar lived at Oxford; the Curate lived at Wells; the thirteen adjacent parishes were without a resident curate; the only clergyman in the district was the Vicar of Axbridge, of whom Hannah More wrote, "he is intoxicated about six times a week, and very frequently is prevented from preaching by two black eyes honestly earned by fighting."[1] The whole neighbourhood had been allowed to lapse into worse than heathenism. Wilberforce offered to make himself responsible for the money that was needed if something could be done, and Hannah More and her sisters volunteered for the work. As soon as possible they started on a preliminary tour of inspection. The richest landowner begged them "not to think of bringing any religion into the country; it was the worst thing in

Hannah More.

[1] Letter to Wilberforce printed in Roberts' *Life of Hannah More.*

the world for the poor, for it made them lazy and useless."[1] The farmers they found "as ignorant as the beasts that perish, intoxicated every day before dinner, and plunged in such vice that we begin to think that London is a virtuous place."[2] The children, though "ignorant, and profane, and vicious beyond belief,"[3] seemed the most promising material to begin with. A small house was taken in Cheddar, and opened as a school, and here the sisters taught their pupils to read, and to spin worsted. They went with them to church on Sunday, and held a Bible-class for the parents every Sunday evening. Then other schools were started in the neighbouring villages, till at last their work extended over an area of twenty-eight miles; school-mistresses, paid by Thornton and Wilberforce, were appointed for every hamlet, and Hannah rode from school to school to help in the teaching, to keep everything up to the mark, and to take the children to church. The difficulties were endless. The *Anti-Jacobin* accused her of plotting a revolution in the Mendips; the farmers put down the failure of the apple-crop to the new religion; in one place the churchwardens summoned her for teaching without a licence; the untrained teachers did foolish things, and got themselves into trouble. But soon her work began to tell; the presence of this keen-eyed little lady, who was known to be reporting everything to powerful friends in London, led the curates to improve the character of the services, for though many of them cared little for the souls of

[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

their flocks, they all cared greatly for their chances of promotion. The absentee curate of Cheddar resigned, and his successor came to live in the village; and before long the Mendip district gained a new reputation; for decency and order it compared favourably with many other parts of England.

The Clapham Sect were always very busy with their pens. The disciples of Tom Paine were flooding England with infidel pamphlets, and these and the last dying speeches of highwaymen were almost the only literature within the reach of the poor, till Hannah More began to publish her Cheap Repository Tracts (1795–8) at such a price as to undersell all other publications. Some were ballads, some allegories, but the most successful were simple stories with a strong moral, like *Black Giles the Poacher* and *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain.* Their success was instantaneous. In the first year more than two million copies were sold, and for long these tracts continued to be the chief light literature of the villages. But most of the books which came from Clapham were appeals to educated men and women. Such was Wilberforce's *Practical View*[1] (1797), showing the contrast between "real Christianity," and "the prevailing religious system of professed Christians in the higher and middle classes in this country," a little volume which created an extraordinary sensa-

Tracts and Books.

[1] *A Practical View of the prevailing Religious System of professed Christians in the higher and middle classes in this country contrasted with Real Christianity.*

tion by its challenge to those who accepted the creed but declined to live the life; five editions were exhausted in as many months, and forty editions in twenty-seven years, besides translations in French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, and German. Hannah More's *Thoughts on the Manners of the Great* (1788) had the same purpose and almost the same success: the second edition was sold out in less than a week, and the third edition in a few hours. These lay sermons reached an audience which the clergy of the party had as yet hardly touched; they compelled the fashionable world to face the Evangelicals' challenge; and their influence could be distinctly traced in the decline of card-playing, and the stricter observance of Sunday.

Characteristics.

We have seen only one or two aspects of the zeal of these Clapham friends. Schools, prison discipline, savings-banks, church-building, all took up much of their time. One most important side of their work must be left for the next chapter. But enough has been said to show how much we owe them, not only for what they actually accomplished, but for the ideal of strenuous service, which they handed down as a heritage to the whole party. They had their weaknesses. "It is not permitted," wrote Sir James Stephen,[1] "to any coterie altogether to escape the spirit of coterie. Clapham Common thought itself the best of all possible commons. Such at least was the opinion of the less eminent of those who were entitled to house-

[1] *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography.* "The Clapham Sect."

bote and dinner-bote there. If the Common were attacked, the whole homage was in a flame. If it was laughed at, there could be no remaining sense of decency amongst men. But if not more than men, they were not less. They mourned over the ills of Society without shrieks or hysterics. Their philosophy was something better than an array of hard words. Their religion was a hardy, serviceable, fruit-bearing and patrimonial religion." "Perhaps," wrote Dr. Overton,[1] "like most laymen, who take up strong views on theological subjects, they were inclined to be a little narrow. None of them had, or professed to have, the slightest pretensions to be called theologians. Still they learned and practised thoroughly the true lessons of Christianity, and shed a lustre upon the Evangelical cause by the purity, disinterestedness, and beneficence of their lives."

FOR FURTHER STUDY. Stephen's *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography:* Essay IX, Wilberforce; X, "The Clapham Sect." Colquhoun's *Wilberforce, His Friends and Times.* Telford's *Sect that moved the World. Life of Wilberforce*, by his sons. Lady Knutsford's *Life of Z. Macaulay. Life of J. Stephen*, by his son. *Memoir of Lord Teignmouth*, by his son. Morris' *Life of Chas. Grant.* Robert's *Life of Hannah More.* Miss Young's *Hannah More.* Martha More's *Mendip Annals*, edited by Roberts. *Dictionary of National Biography*—Articles: Venn, Wilberforce, Macaulay, Grant, More, Shore, Stephen, Thornton.

[1] *English Church in Eighteenth Century*, II, 216.

CHAPTER VI

THE GREAT SOCIETIES

"Prepared unto every good work."

THE great voluntary religious societies have always been the peculiar glory of the Evangelical Party. We have now reached the period in which nearly all of these were formed.

Church Missionary Society.

For some time in the debates of the Eclectic Society one subject had been coming more and more to the front: "What is the best method of planting the Gospel in Botany Bay?" "What is the best method of propagating the Gospel in the East Indies?" "What is the best method of propagating the Gospel in Africa?" "In what mode can a mission be attempted to the Heathen from the Established Church?"[1] It was high time that the thoughts of Churchmen should turn in this direction. For seventy years Danish missionaries had been at work in India; for sixty years devoted Moravians had been evangelizing Greenland; in 1760 the Methodists' work amongst the West Indian negroes had begun; in 1792 the Baptist Missionary Society

[1] Pratt's *Eclectic Notes.*

sent out Carey to India; in 1795 the undenominational London Missionary Society sent its first band of workers to the South Sea Islands; in the following year the Scotch Presbyterians founded two societies. Meanwhile the Church of England was doing practically nothing. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was nearly a hundred years old, but its sphere was limited by its Charter of 1701 to "the Plantacons, Colonies and Factories beyond the Seas, belonging to Our Kingdome of England," and its work at this time was confined to the white colonists. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was subsidizing a little Lutheran mission in India, but this lay quite outside its normal sphere of work. The Church had no organization at all for touching heathen countries.

In 1799 the Eclectic Society returned to the subject again. The discussion was opened by Venn of Clapham, and the question was no longer the academic one, "What ought the Church to do?" but "What methods can *we*" (though only a dozen obscure clergy) "use more effectually to promote the knowledge of the Gospel among the Heathen?" The original idea seems to have been that the Eclectic Society itself should send out a few missionaries; but, under Simeon's guidance, it was resolved to form a special body for the purpose. On April 12th a public meeting was held in the Castle and Falcon Hotel, Aldersgate Street, when twenty-five people founded the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, which afterwards became famous as the Church

Missionary Society. Venn was Chairman, Thornton Treasurer, and Scott the Commentator Secretary.

The first great difficulty was the lack of men. Young Evangelicals were offering themselves for posts as distant and as difficult. Samuel Marsden had sailed to preach to the convicts at Botany Bay. When Simeon called for chaplains for India, he had no lack of offers. To work among white men clergy could be found who were ready to travel to the uttermost ends of the earth: but work among Heathen was at this time an unheard-of thing; there was no missionary literature, no missionary tradition; the whole scheme seemed vague and nebulous, and not a man would come forward. The Committee could do nothing but lay plans for an Arabic Bible, a Persian New Testament, and a Susoo Grammar. After two years Scott left London on his appointment to the vicarage of Aston Sandford, Bucks, and Josiah Pratt, Cecil's curate, became the new secretary (1802–24). He was a born statesman, a man whose very instinct it was always to think imperially, and the Church owes more than it has ever acknowledged to his industry in collecting and sifting facts about the most distant countries, his quickness in grasping the problems to be faced, and the wisdom and untiring energy with which he worked for their solution. In 1815 he was joined by Edward Bickersteth, who undertook the home organization and the preparation of the candidates. "He represented," writes Mr. Eugene Stock,[1] "the highest

Early Difficulties.

[1] *History of C.M.S.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

spiritual side of the Society's principles and methods, His evangelical fervour was irresistible; and wherever he went, from county to county and from town to town, he stirred his hearers to their hearts' depths, and set them praying and working with redoubled earnestness. His beautiful loving influence healed many divisions, and bound both workers at home and missionaries abroad in holy fellowship. If ever a C.M.S. secretary was filled with the Spirit, that secretary was Edward Bickersteth." Pratt and Bickersteth were the two men who laid the foundations on which all the later work of the Society was built.

But we must return to the early days before Bickersteth joined the Society. When, after three years of waiting, no Englishman had come forward, the Committee reluctantly decided to follow the example of the S.P.C.K., and look for workers among the Lutherans. Here students were eventually found, and a mission was begun in Sierra Leone. But again disappointment followed disappointment. The untrained missionaries hung about the coast, appalled at the dangers of the country and the difficulties of the language; one of the first caused grievous scandal by engaging in the slave trade; the place began to assert its right to the name of the White Man's Grave. Again, when the next mission was opened, and English laymen were sent to work among the Maoris of New Zealand, there were interminable delays, and some of the missionaries had to be dismissed for trading in liquor and guns. The Committee itself was without experience, and had no

precedents to guide it. The whole work was so new, that many mistakes were inevitable; but with infinite patience and prayer the mistakes were at last rectified, and strong Christian churches were built up in both Sierra Leone and New Zealand.

The next field was only occupied after a hard struggle. A large part of the East Coast of India was now in British hands, but our hold upon the country was by no means secure. The Sepoy army was disaffected; dethroned native princes were plotting for restoration; and the first axiom of every Anglo-Indian official was that everything must be done to avoid an outbreak of religious fanaticism. A few Lutheran missionaries were allowed to continue their work in the south, but in the north the coming of missionaries was sternly discouraged. Grant fought hard for a more Christian policy, but on this point he had all but one of the members of the Board against him, and the vast majority of the officials on the spot. In the Charter of 1793 Wilberforce had tried to insert a clause declaring the duty of England to seek "the religious and moral improvement of the native inhabitants,"[1] but the Company had raised such an agitation among the holders of India stock that Parliament was persuaded to throw it out, thus, in Wilberforce's stinging phrase, "committing twenty millions of people to the providential protection of Brama."[2] When the Baptist missionaries came to

The Opening of India.

[1] *Journals of House of Commons*, 1793, p. 778.
[2] Letter to Gisborne, printed in *Life*, II, 27.

India in 1799, the Danish colony of Serampore was the only place in which they were allowed to work. As late as 1802 thousands of astonished natives watched their English rulers passing in procession to a heathen temple to present "a thank-offering to the Goddess Kali in the name of the Company for the success which the English have lately obtained."[1]

The first to turn his attention to India was Charles Simeon, and he determined to do what he could through the Company's chaplains. With wonderful success he persuaded many of the young Evangelicals at Cambridge to apply for chaplaincies as they became vacant, and Grant's influence secured the appointment of all suitable men. Their aim was first of all to convert Anglo-Indian Society, and then to watch for an opportunity of opening the country for missionaries. Brown, Buchanan, Corrie, Thomason, all did work which endured; but the most famous was Henry Martyn, the brilliant Cornishman, Senior Wrangler and First Smith's Prizeman and Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, who sailed for India in 1805. He found the officials and their wives utterly unsympathetic, but willing to attend one service on Sunday, if he would drop the sermon. The only religious Englishman in the station was a devout Mohammedan, who had built a mosque for the use of the town. The greatest caution had to be observed in trying to approach the natives, though later he was able to preach to the beggars who came to his door for alms. More and more he found himself

[1] Hobbes' *Reminiscences of Seventy Years*, I, 59 *n.*

confined to literary work. First he translated the whole New Testament into Hindustani, and so paved the way for those who were to come. Then he set to work again on a Persian version, and, in order to perfect his style, went to live in Shiraz, the centre of Persian learning. When the work was finished, his health utterly broke down, and he started on the journey home across the burning plains, only to die alone in Tokat (1812), a stranger in a strange land.

However, the Indian charter would expire in 1813, and the Company had to apply to Parliament for its renewal. The C.M.S. pledged itself at a special general meeting to work hard for the abolition of the veto on missionary work. The men of Clapham took up again the weapons that had killed the slave trade. The whole country was flooded with pamphlets; great mass-meetings were held, and monster petitions presented; and at last Wilberforce carried his two resolutions through the House of Commons, declaring it "expedient that the Church should be placed under the superintendence of a Bishop and three Archdeacons," and insisting that "sufficient facilities" be given to "persons desirous of going to India to promote the religious and moral improvement of the natives."[1] The battle was won, but no Simeonite could hope to be a Bishop. The choice fell on Dr. Middleton, the editor of the *British Critic*, an avowed foe of all things Evangelical; but that mattered little, for now the C.M.S. could get to work, and begin to send its missionaries into India also.

[1] *Missionary Register*, June, 1813.

Meanwhile other societies with other objects had been formed. The Religious Tract Society is only one month younger than the C.M.S. It was founded in May, 1799, to develop the work which Hannah More had begun. Its aim was to produce plenty of clean and wholesome literature, and thus drive out of the market the vicious ballads and stories which hundreds of hawkers were selling from door to door, and also to print short pithy statements of religious truth. "Everyone has not the talent of talking to others on subjects of religion. Some have a diffidence which they cannot overcome. But it is not so hard to take a tract, and say, 'My friend, read that, and tell me what you think of it.' It is a cheap way of diffusing the knowledge of religion; it is not so likely to give offence as some other methods of doing good; and it forms an excellent accompaniment to other methods."[1] The founders of the C.M.S. had been accused of bigotry, because they declined to join the undenominational London Missionary Society. Now they had an opportunity of making their position clear. When it was a question of gaining converts and building them into a Church, there, of necessity, Churchmen must work alone; but when it was merely a question of circulating healthy literature, Protestants of all denominations were able to work together. The Evangelicals joined cordially in the work of the new Society; Zachary Macaulay was member for Clapham on the first

Religious Tract Society.

[1] Tract I, *On Distributing Religious Tracts.*

committee; and during almost the whole of its history one of its secretaries has been an Evangelical clergyman. Dozens of tracts were quickly produced at a farthing, a halfpenny, and a penny, and their success was immediate. In the first nineteen months 752,000 were sold by hawkers, and in the following year more than a million. Henceforth the power of the Press was definitely and systematically employed on the side of righteousness and truth.

Bible Society.

The British and Foreign Bible Society was the next to be formed. The need for this was first realised through the dearth of Bibles in Wales. There were 540,000 people in the Principality, most of whom had been profoundly influenced by the Revival; but for thirty years the S.P.C.K. had not issued a single copy of the Welsh Bible, and when in 1799 they at last consented to reprint, they limited the edition to 10,000, and declared that they could do no more. There were whole districts full of people who wished to serve God, but could not obtain a copy of His Word in the only language they could read.[1] The pathetic story was told of Mary Jones of Tynoddol, the little girl who used to walk four miles every Saturday to read the nearest Bible, until, by hoarding up the halfpence that she earned, she had managed to save enough to buy a copy of her own. With bare feet

[1] *cf.* Letter to Thomas Scott, March 24, 1787. "I have been often questioned whether I knew where a Welsh Bible could be bought. There are none to be bought for money, unless some poor person, pinched by poverty, is obliged to sell his Bible to support himself and family." *Life of Scott*, p. 263.

she then trudged thirty miles over the mountains to find Thomas Charles of Bala, one of the Methodist leaders, the only man in the countryside likely to have Bibles to distribute, and learnt that the last Bible had been sold many months before, and that there was no prospect of any more being printed. It is hardly correct to say that the Society sprang "from a Welsh maiden's tears," for Mr. Charles was already corresponding with Jones of Creaton about the possibility of founding a Bible Society, but it was one of many incidents which helped to prove the need, and, on his next visit to London, he laid the matter before the Committee of the Religious Tract Society. It was then that one of the members made the memorable remark, "Surely a Society might be formed for the purpose; and if for Wales, why not for the Kingdom? and if for the Kingdom, why not for the World?" The men of Clapham quickly gave their allegiance to the scheme, and in 1804 the Society was founded, with Lord Teignmouth as President, Wilberforce as Vice-President, Thornton as Treasurer, and Pratt of the C.M.S. as one of the Secretaries. It was felt that the multiplication of Bibles was another cause in which Churchmen and Nonconformists could work cordially side by side, and an interdenominational basis was adopted. One Secretary must always be a clergyman of the Church of England and the other a Nonconformist minister, and of the Committee of thirty-six, fifteen must be Churchmen, fifteen Nonconformists, and six foreigners resident in England. Naturally Wales was the first

country to be dealt with, and an edition of 25,000 Bibles and New Testaments was prepared, the leather-bound Bible costing 3s. 3d. and the cloth-bound New Testament only tenpence. An eye-witness has described the way in which they were received:[1] "When the arrival of the cart was announced, which carried the first load, the peasants went out in crowds to meet it, welcomed it as the Israelites did the Ark of old, drew it into the town, and eagerly bore off every copy, as rapidly as they could be dispersed. The young people were to be seen consuming the whole night in reading it. Labourers carried it with them to the field, that they might enjoy it during the intervals of their labour, and lose no opportunity of becoming acquainted with its truths." The Society then turned its attention to the Canadian Indians, and printed the Gospel of St. John in Mohawk. Then came a cheap edition of the English Bible; then a Gaelic Bible for the Highlands, where still 300,000 people did not understand English. Then it produced the New Testament in Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian, then in Dutch, and Danish, and Eskimo, then in Irish, Manx, and modern Greek, thus every year doing more to accomplish its "exclusive object,"[2] "to diffuse the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures by circulating them in the different languages spoken throughout Great Britain and Ireland; and also, according to the extent of its funds, by promoting the printing of

[1] *Christian Observer*, July, 1810.
[2] First *Prospectus of the Bible Society.*

them in foreign languages and the distribution of them in foreign countries."[1] Twice, however, the Society was almost wrecked by controversy. In 1825 the difficult question of the Apocrypha arose. Many subscribers strongly objected to their money being used to circulate late Jewish legends, like Tobit, and Bel and the Dragon. On the other hand the Reformed Churches abroad had always included in their versions these uncanonical writings, and looked with suspicion at Bibles from which familiar books were omitted. At last, in spite of strong protests from Simeon, Farish, Baptist Noel, and many other Evangelicals, the Anti-Apocrypha party triumphed, and the Society decided to circulate only the Old and New Testaments. Five years later another violent controversy broke out. There seems to be no reason for believing that any number of Unitarians were ever members of the Society—certainly there were none among the officers, agents, or Committee—but there was nothing in the rules definitely barring them out. In 1830, however, the Guernsey Auxiliary passed a resolution "pledging themselves to discountenance all union with Socinians," and "earnestly recommending the Parent Society totally to withdraw from those who deny the Divinity of our Lord."[2] The Committee declined to impose any restrictive test or to refuse the help of any one who recognised the value of the Bible and wished to help to circulate it, with the result that an agitation began which ended in

[1] First *Prospectus of the Bible Society.*

[2] Quoted in Canton's *History of the Bible Society*, I, 354.

a terrible uproar at the Annual Meeting. For six hours the storm raged in Exeter Hall; speaker after speaker was howled down; the chairman could not make himself heard; but eventually, when it came to the voting, the party which wished for the test was decisively defeated. These two controversies for a time checked the progress of the Society. During the first practically all the Scotch Auxiliaries were lost; the second led to the secession of many English friends, who formed the Trinitarian Bible Society; but the Committee retained the confidence of the majority of their subscribers, and before long the work went on with unabated energy.

London Jews' Society.

Next, in 1809, the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews was founded. At first the idea was to make this also interdenominational, but it was clearly a mistake. "However practicable," said Simeon,[1] "a union of all denominations was in the Bible Society, where the object was simple, it was not so in a Society where all points of Church discipline must form a bone of contention," and the Nonconformist minority in a perfectly friendly spirit agreed to withdraw. This Society was for a time the most popular of all; the singing of the Hebrew children drew enormous audiences to its meetings, and C.M.S. preachers were sometimes compelled to take as their text, "Is He the God of the Jews only?" Of Basil Woodd, for example, we read, "The Jews' Society

[1] Speech at Norwich, *Report of Jews' Society*, 1818, p. 44.

was perhaps his favourite institution,"[1] and Simeon's biographer tells us that "the conversion of the Jews was the warmest interest of his life."[2] Their choice was made quite deliberately with a definite object. Once when Simeon asserted on a platform that this Society was "the most blessed of all," a friend wrote on a slip of paper, "Six millions of Jews and six hundred millions of Gentiles—which is the most important?" But Simeon at once scribbled back, "If the conversion of the six is to be life from the dead to the six hundred, what then?"[3] The Society began its work in England by buying one of the old Huguenot chapels in Spitalfields, and announcing lectures for the Jews three times a week. At the same time a school was opened for Hebrew children, and a Hebrew edition of the New Testament prepared. In 1821 it sent out its first missionary to Poland, and in 1823 work was begun in Palestine. Here again, with so new a work, mistakes were almost inevitable. The Committee knew little of Jewish character or of the schnorrer's guile. At first every one who professed conversion was received with most charming simplicity, and one unmitigated scoundrel, who pretended to be a Rabbi of world-wide reputation, was welcomed with open arms as a second Saul of Tarsus. Men less in earnest would have been overwhelmed by the storm of ridicule that burst, when the pamphleteers got hold of one or two stories

[1] Wilks' *Memoir of Woodd*, p. 48.
[2] Moule's *Simeon*, p. 122.
[3] *Memoir of Bickersteth*, II, 61. (*cf.* Romans xi. 15.)

like this; but the Committee quietly went on with their work, learning their lessons, trying experiments, constantly revising their methods, until at last the schnorrer found that there was nothing to be gained by hypocrisy, and only true converts could survive the searching period of probation.

Then Evangelicals began to turn their attention to the colonies. Newfoundland at this time was one of the plague spots of the Empire, a land where the white man had almost sunk back into barbarism. Seventy thousand ignorant fishermen of the poorest class had settled in the bays and harbours of a coast-line more than a thousand miles long, and there they had been abandoned by an angry Government. The authorities wished to make the fisheries a training-ground for British seamen, and so they tried to compel each boat to cross the Atlantic twice every year. The rule was that the men must return to England in the autumn, and bring their boats back again at the beginning of summer. For those who remained the Government accepted no responsibility: outside the capital there were neither roads, nor schools, nor churches. The fertile land was left uncultivated: the very potatoes had to be imported from England. At the close of the fishing season the officials all returned home, and the island was left without any semblance of law or order. These people had gradually sunk into a state of indescribable degradation, when Samuel Codner, a West Country merchant engaged in the Newfoundland

Colonial and Continental Church Society.

trade, began to bring their condition before the Church at home. The result was the formation in 1823 of the Society for Educating the Poor of Newfoundland, which in the next five years succeeded in establishing twenty-five day schools, seventeen Sunday-schools, and ten adult schools at various points along the coast. The Society was very happy in the choice of its first masters; most of them were afterwards ordained, and became some of the most valued clergy in the Newfoundland Church.

Meanwhile attention had been called to the state of Western Australia. The colony had been formed with feverish haste in 1826, owing to rumours that the French were going to occupy the district; large tracts of fertile land were offered to any who would apply, and emigrants were hurried out as fast as they could be found. At the end of ten years six towns had been built, and a vast district had been covered with scattered farms, but the country was still without a church, and the only minister of religion was an aged Government chaplain at Perth. In 1835 Captain Irwin, the acting Governor, returned to England, and appealed to the S.P.G. to send out some clergy; the answer was, "We have not the means, and we have not the men." With the help of Lord Teignmouth he then founded the Australian Church Missionary Society, which at once began to send out chaplains and lay catechists to that continent. Three years later the name was changed to the Colonial Church Society, and the Committee adopted a wider plan: "We propose to

send out devoted, prudent, and well-informed clergymen, catechists and schoolmasters to any place within the colonies where a sufficient population, destitute of Christian instruction, shall ask our help. In the districts in which other Societies minister we mean not to enter."[1] Nova Scotia was the first new field to be occupied, and in the following year work was begun at the Cape. In 1839 the first continental chaplaincy was established at Lucca, the great gambling centre, the Monte Carlo of the period, and a new clause added to the Society's official title, by which the work was no longer limited "to the colonies of Great Britain," but extended also "to British residents in other parts of the world."[2] In 1851 the Newfoundland Society and the Colonial Society very wisely joined forces, and thus formed the Colonial and Continental Church Society, whose work is to keep the white man Christian in whatever country he may settle.

Church Pastoral-Aid Society.

The Church Pastoral-Aid Society was the youngest of the group. In the early thirties men began to realise that there were problems to be faced at home just as urgent as those in heathen countries or the colonies. That great industrial revolution had begun, which changed England from a nation of villagers to a nation of city-dwellers. The typical Englishman was no longer John Bull, the portly country farmer, but the hard-headed, free-thinking Radical factory-hand.

[1] *Report of Colonial Church Society*, 1838.
[2] *Report* of 1839.

Meanwhile the Church had fallen terribly behind her work. The bulk of the clergy still remained in the half-deserted villages, while in the towns the people were left like sheep without a shepherd. In thirty years the population of Leeds had increased from 53,000 to 123,000, that of Manchester from 84,000 to 183,000, and that of Liverpool from 90,000 to 235,000; but very little had been done to increase the number of Church workers, and Churchmen gradually awoke to the fact that the grimy alleys of Lancashire needed missionaries just as much as the sunlit isles of the Pacific. As usual, the Evangelicals made the first move. A little group of Islington laymen, among whom Frederick Sandoz was the leading spirit, after long discussion agreed to insert a paragraph in the *Record* (March 12, 1835) calling attention to the want of a Church Home Missionary Society. This brought them into touch with Robert Seeley, the Fleet Street publisher, who with a circle of City friends had also been maturing plans, and had just failed to persuade the Bishop to start a Diocesan Society.[1] The two groups then joined hands, called a meeting in the committee-room of the C.M.S. and there formed, on February 19, 1836, the Church Pastoral-Aid Society, "for the purpose of benefiting the population of our own country by increasing the number of working clergymen in the

[1] Cf. Pusey's letter to Newman, January, 1836. "Rose writes that the Evangelical Party have offered to the Bishop of London to raise £150,000, if he will lead a Diocesan Society, like that at Chester, to build churches." *Life*, Vol. I, p. 329.

Church of England, and encouraging the appointment of pious and discreet laymen as helpers to the clergy in duties not ministerial." The President was Lord Ashley, better known by his later title of Lord Shaftesbury, and the honorary secretaries were Frederick Sandoz, the originator of the scheme, and John Harding, Rector of St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, who afterwards became Bishop of Bombay. In the first year the Committee were able to make grants for 58 additional curates and 13 lay assistants; of whom 16 went to Yorkshire, for there the need was greatest, 12 to Lancashire, 6 to London, and 5 to Wales.

The greatest care was taken not to offend against Church order. "There is no design of obtruding assistance where it is not desired, nor of infringing in the smallest degree the discipline of the Church. No grant can be made unless the incumbent himself shall apply; he must nominate the persons to be employed, he must engage them, and superintend and entirely control them. All that the Society does is to provide for their remuneration, and while so doing to ask satisfactory proof of their qualifications."[1] Nevertheless, round two points a furious controversy arose. The last clause in the above regulation was severely criticized. That a London committee "in the plenitude of its super-papal authority"[2] and "hyper-archiepiscopal tyranny"[3]

[1] Additional Regulation adopted by the Committee, April 6, 1837.

[2] Molesworth's *Letter to the Bishop of Chester on the C.P.A.S.* (1840), p. 36.

[3] *Staffordshire Gazette*, November 28, 1840.

should ask for the qualifications of a man, who held the Bishop's licence, was considered an insult not to be endured. Cromwell's Triers and the Spanish Inquisition seemed quite humble inquirers in comparison. In number after number the *British Critic* thundered against the Society. But the Committee stood their ground. They pointed out that theirs was definitely a missionary society for aggressive evangelistic effort amongst the masses outside the Church, and that obviously many licensed clergy were quite unsuited for this particular work, some through infirmity, others through temperament, others through the opinions that they held. They pointed to the rule of the S.P.G., "That no missionary be employed until the fullest inquiry has been made into his fitness and efficiency,"[1] and they declined to move from this position, though one concession was made: the consideration of the testimonials of the nominees was entrusted to the clerical members of the Committee alone.

Far more important was the struggle over the proposal to employ lay assistants. To-day, when the highest of High Churchmen welcome the help of laymen, it is difficult to understand the indignation aroused by the very modest scheme of the Committee, until we remember that Wesley's lay preachers had been the last experiment in this direction. The two leading Church papers, the *British Critic* and the *British Magazine*, strongly denounced the plan.

[1] *Rules of the S.P.G.* Rule XVII. Quoted in Sinclair's *Reasons for Supporting the C.P.A.S.*, 1841.

"It seems singular," said the latter,[1] "that those who regard orders as a matter of *any* moment should think of sending persons without orders to minister among the people." The *Church of England Quarterly Review* published[2] an apocryphal story of two C.P.A.S. lay agents making themselves popular in a parish and then opening a dissenting chapel, though as a matter of fact the Society had no grants at that time in the neighbourhood mentioned. Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter declared the project "contrary to the practice of all Christian antiquity and of our own branch of Christ's Church in particular, anomalous, pregnant with mischief and perils of the gravest kind."[3] Bishop Blomfield of London used language almost as unmeasured. So fierce was the storm that some members of the Committee began to waver. One section, led by William Ewart Gladstone, then member for Newark, and "the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories," whose father was the leading Evangelical layman in Liverpool, wished to drop all the lay agent grants; but the majority of the Committee stuck to their guns, and, though they lost many supporters—for the malcontents seceded and formed (1837) the Additional Curates Society for the support of clergy only—by their dogged perseverance they eventually won the battle which made lay work possible in the Church of England.

[1] February, 1837. [2] October, 1838. "A Voice from the Font."
[3] *A Letter to the Archdeacons of the Diocese on the proposed Scripture Readers*,

The machinery of the Evangelical Party was now complete. Large and vigorous societies had been formed to deal with the needs of the Heathen and the Jews, the Colonies and the home parishes, and a plentiful supply of Bibles and religious literature had been secured. But some may ask, Was it necessary to create these new organizations? Would it not have been better to have strengthened the Societies already in existence? In the case of the Jews and home missions the question does not arise, for there the Evangelical societies were the first in the field. In heathen lands, too, the ground was quite unoccupied. The S.P.G. was limited by its charter to the British Colonies, and even in those it had almost entirely dropped its work among the natives: its little band of missionaries had more than enough to do in trying to cope with the ever-increasing number of white settlers. Moreover, any forward movement seemed impossible: the Society was merely living on its investments: in the year in which the C.M.S. was founded its income from subscriptions and donations was £553. Only four of the new societies in the least degree encroached on ground already nominally occupied. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had existed since 1698 to do the work for which the Religious Tract Society and the Bible Society were formed, but it had not yet awakened from its eighteenth-century lethargy. For example, in 1807—the earliest figures available—the Tract Society sold 1,474,000 tracts, the S.P.C.K. only

Were they needed?

118,000, and we have already seen in Wales how it was failing to cope with the demand for Bibles. In the same way it was the failure of the S.P.G. to keep pace with its work among the white colonists that called into existence the two Evangelical colonial societies. In Newfoundland the older society had only four chaplains and a few schools, which the Bishop of London warned the Board were "so ineffective as to be only nominal,"[1] and it confessed in its report that its work here was quite inadequate: in Western Australia it declared that it was unable to begin any work at all.

But if the Evangelicals had thrown their strength into the old societies, could they not have infused fresh life into them? This was quite impossible, for neither the S.P.G. nor S.P.C.K. would have anything to do with an Evangelical. Venn, Thornton, Macaulay, Grant, Wilberforce, Simeon, Pratt, all were subscribers, but they were not allowed to obtain the smallest influence. As late as 1824 Simeon was blackballed when he was proposed as a member of the S.P.C.K. Nothing shows the attitude of the societies better than the tracts published by the latter. In 1762 a new section was added to the catalogue headed "Tracts against Enthusiasm," which were really tracts against the Evangelicals. Let us take as a sample one of the later ones, which stood on the list from 1803 to 1829. It is *A Dialogue between a Minister of the Church and his Parishioner*

[1] *An Account of the State of the Schools in the Island of Newfoundland.* 1827.

concerning those who are called Evangelical Ministers, by Thomas Sikes, Vicar of Guilsborough, one of the most respected of the High Church leaders. A labourer named Twilight has been absent from his parish church, and when his clergyman calls to expostulate, he discovers that the misguided man has been walking over to a neighbouring village, where the Vicar, Mr. B., is an Evangelical. He then sits down to point out to him the error of his ways. He explains that the Evangelical clergy are "a few rebellious preachers who have risen up against their rulers as Korah did against Moses": that they are generally needy men, whose necessities strongly tempt them to procure followers, that they may obtain the better subsistence. "The more followers they invite, the more money they get; and the better they please, the better they will be paid." He tells Twilight to notice how often they confess that they are "miserable sinners," "and I certainly have no reason to disbelieve them." At any rate, one of two things must be true, either they are men of disreputable lives, or else they are liars, and in either case no decent person would have anything to do with them. He then draws an interesting comparison between their preaching and his own. "They are continually declaiming upon the darkest and most difficult subjects, as Irenaeus tells us the old heretics used to do, such as the subjects of divine grace and justification. Now upon these subjects I touch very lightly and very seldom." And when Twilight ventures to suggest that after all Mr. B. is a duly ordained clergyman

ministering in the church to which the Bishop has licensed him, it is pointed out that this is the very worst thing about him: "the dissenting teacher stands upon his ground with honour, and acts neither artfully nor falsely," but the Evangelical "plays the hypocrite in a most shocking manner; he receives the Bishop's ordination which puts him into the Church, and then acts directly in opposition to it." This tract was circulated broadcast for twenty-six years, and it represents very fairly the attitude of the "Orthodox Clergy" during that period. It also explains why the Evangelicals found themselves absolutely shut out from either of the old societies, and compelled, if the work was to be done at all, to found societies of their own. And it was good for the whole Church that they were led to do so; for the example of the C.M.S. rekindled the missionary spirit in the S.P.G., and the Tract and Bible Societies awoke the venerable S.P.C.K. to its present life of usefulness.

Effect upon the Party.

The Six Societies did a great deal for the Evangelical Party in addition to the work for which they were actually formed. For one thing, they effectually counteracted a certain tendency towards Antinomianism, which had distressed Scott and Cecil and some of the wiser leaders. Many congregations had been deeply interested and moved by Evangelical doctrine, but hitherto they had found no outlet for Evangelical work. The tree had been richly watered, but it had not yet learned to produce an adequate crop of fruit. But now the tiniest village congregation felt itself a unit in an

army which was undertaking a task of overwhelming difficulty. To every individual came the call to self-denial and sacrifice. The Evangelicals were still comparatively a small body, and when we find them committed to such tasks as that of securing workers for all the great town parishes, of providing the colonies with the means of grace, of converting the whole Jewish race, abroad as well as in England, of evangelizing Africa and India and New Zealand, of providing the whole world with Bibles and religious literature, it is clear that henceforth there is no danger that they will ignore the practical side of religion. The Antinomian peril disappears.

Again, the Six Societies proved a wonderful bond of union; they bound the scattered units into a more coherent whole. One thing which helped greatly in this was the system of deputations. In 1813 Basil Woodd loaded a post-chaise with large bundles of missionary pamphlets and Reports, and started north for a ten weeks' tour in Yorkshire, visiting towns and villages, speaking and preaching for the C.M.S. It was not easy work. "Our carriage has cracked two axle boxes and two springs," he wrote from Bridlington,[1] "Roads very rough." But the experiment proved a great success. He collected more than £1000, started twenty-eight associations, and aroused much missionary enthusiasm in the county. Other societies very quickly followed this example, and soon it became the regular thing for the leading men in the party to set apart one or two months every year

[1] Quoted in Hole's *Early History of C.M.S.*, p. 322.

for this work. These visits did good to every one concerned. The village clergy no longer felt isolated, now that they were sure of having one of their leaders staying in the vicarage every year. And the London clergy gained an intimate, personal knowledge of the work and feeling of their brethren in the country.

Moreover, the societies not only sent the London clergy to the villages, but they drew the country Evangelicals to London. In 1831 Exeter Hall was built, and the May meetings became a very powerful institution. "Midway between the Abbey of Westminster and the Church of the Knights Templars," wrote Sir James Stephen in 1844,[1] "twin columns, emulating those of Hercules, fling their long shadows across the street through which the far-resounding Strand pours the full current of human existence into the deep recesses of Exeter Hall. Borne on that impetuous tide, the mediterranean waters lift up their voice in a ceaseless swell of exulting or pathetic declamation. The changeful strain rises with the civilisation of Africa, or becomes plaintive over the wrongs of chimney-boys, or peals anathemas against the successors of Peter, or in rich diapason calls on the Protestant Churches to awake and evangelize the world. . . . The doctrine is that of an all-embracing, all-enduring charity—embracing every human interest, enduring much human infirmity." And here in these enthusiastic meetings Evangelicals from all parts of England got to know one another. Local jealousies, petty parochialism quickly dis-

[1] *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, "The Clapham Sect."

appeared. Once more it was proved that "he that watereth shall be watered also himself." Their unselfish efforts for the good of others brought a great reflex blessing on their own parishes and party.

FOR FURTHER STUDY. Hole's *Early History of the C.M.S.* Stock's *History of the C.M.S. Memoir of Pratt*, by his sons. C.M.S. *History of the Sierra Leone Mission.* Ingham's *Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years.* Pierson's *Seven Years in Sierra Leone.* Marsden's *Memoirs of S. Marsden.* Jacob's *New Zealand* (Colonial Church Histories). Kaye's *Christianity in India.* Penny's *Church in Madras.* Sargent's *Memoir of Martyn.* G. Smith's *Henry Martyn.* Wilberforce's *Journals of Martyn.* Pearson's *Life of Claudius Buchanan. Memoirs of Daniel Corrie*, compiled by his brothers. *Proceedings of the First Twenty Years of the R.T.S.* Green's *Story of the R.T.S.* Owen's *History of the First Ten Years of the Bible Society.* Canton's *History of the Bible Society.* Morris' *Founders of the Bible Society.* Dealtry's *Vindication of the Bible Society.* Gidney's *History of the Jews' Society.* Prowse's *History of Newfoundland.* Speck's *Church Pastoral-Aid Society: a Sketch of its Origin and Progress.* Birks' *Memoir of Bickersteth.* Grimshawe's *Life of Legh Richmond. Dict. of National Biog.*—Bickersteth, Buchanan, Charles, Corrie, Goode, Marsden, Martyn, Pratt, Richmond.

CHAPTER VII

THE THIRD GENERATION

"The Lord added to them day by day those that were being saved."

A NEW race of Evangelicals was now coming to the front. The fathers who had fought under Whitefield and Wesley had long gone to their rest. The sons, who had looked to Clapham for guidance, were fast passing away. The most prominent men in the party now were the two great philanthropists, Thomas Fowell Buxton, the Whig member for Weymouth, and Lord Ashley, who in 1851 became seventh Earl of Shaftesbury.

The Great Philanthropists.

The former of these took up and completed the work of the men of Clapham. Though the slave trade was now illegal, slavery still remained. No fresh negroes could be imported into the West Indies, but this only increased the misery of those who were already there. The average planter's one ambition was to return to England, but this he could not do till he had made his fortune. Every penny spent on his slaves postponed that day. His aim was to get the maximum of work at the minimum of cost. The law allowed nineteen hours of work a day in crop

West Indian Slavery.

time, and the long lines were flogged in the field to make them keep up the pace. Another whip, so heavy that every stroke drew blood, was waiting for offenders when they returned home. "*June 7. Priscilla received* 39," so ran one extract from an overseer's journal, "*Betsy also punished; also Domingo, Lena, Betsy Peters, Joe, and Mary,* 12 *each. Gave Santy* 39 *severely, and then pickled him. Got some peppers out of the garden, steeped them in hot water, and bathed Priscilla and Domingo.*"[1] And against all this the wretched slaves had no redress, for the courts would not hear the evidence of a black man against a white. Nothing was done to teach or elevate the negroes. In Spanish colonies the Roman Church had insisted on the recognition of marriage, but in all British colonies this was practically unknown. In Trinidad, for example, with its large slave population, there were only three negro weddings in thirteen years. The slave was regarded as an animal, lazy, obstinate, dangerous, but quite essential to the cultivation of sugar. Such was the system which Fowell Buxton determined to overthrow.

Fowell Buxton and Abolition.

He began by moving a resolution in 1823 declaring that "slavery is repugnant to the British Constitution and the Christian Religion, and that it ought to be gradually abolished,"[2] but the Government carried a colourless amendment, declaring that it was "expedient to adopt

[1] Printed in full, Appendix to Stephen's *Slavery of the West India Colonies*, II, 445.

[2] *Substance of the Debate on the Mitigation of Slavery*, p. xxvi.

measures for ameliorating the condition of the slaves," and trusting that such an improvement in character would follow, as would "prepare them for civil rights at the earliest period that shall be compatible with the interests of private property."[1] Even this mild resolution created wild excitement in the West Indies. The planters threatened rebellion; among the negroes the rumour spread that the King had set them free and on some estates in Demerara they refused to work, a revolt which was promptly crushed with barbarous severity. The home Government was frightened by the clamour, and decided to do nothing. But Buxton determined to force their hand by appealing to the country. For ten years he conducted a ceaseless agitation. Facts were collected from all quarters, pamphlets published, lectures organized, public meetings held; delegates from every county met in Exeter Hall and marched to Downing Street to interview the Prime Minister; monster petitions were drawn up, so heavy that they could hardly be brought into the House of Commons. His opponents fought with great skill and utter lack of scruple, but at last they were forced to own themselves defeated. In 1833 the Bill was passed and received the royal assent, declaring slavery an unlawful thing in any British possession, a sum of twenty millions being voted as compensation to the planters.

It is said that O'Connell once exclaimed at the close of a speech of Buxton's, "Oh, that our skins were black, for then the member for Weymouth and

[1] *Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

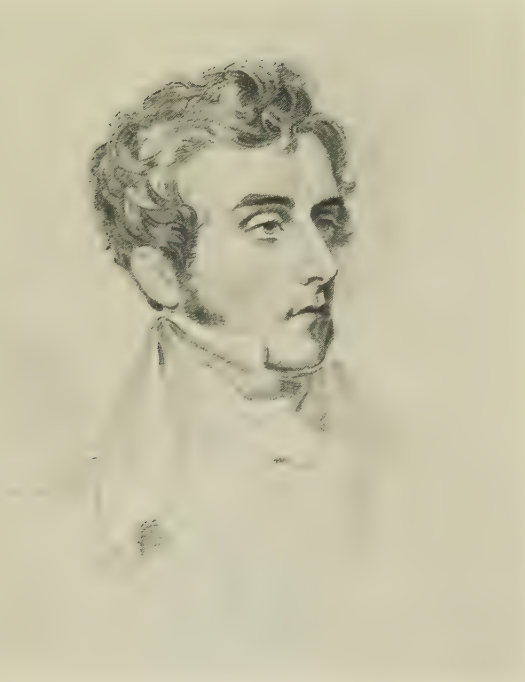
his friends would all be fighting for Ireland!"[1] The member for Weymouth had his hands ful with the task he had undertaken, but it was not fair to accuse his friends of lack of sympathy with the white man, for the young Lord Ashley, who later became the Earl of Shaftesbury, was fast coming to the front as an Evangelical leader. By birth an aristocrat to his finger-tips, who was never able, for all his humility, to entirely divest himself of a certain unconscious pride, by training a Tory of the straitest school, he spent his life fighting for causes which his party and his class despised, and he drew his strength from the most unfashionable of all forms of religion. "I am essentially and from deep-rooted conviction," he said in his old age,[2] "an Evangelical of the Evangelicals. I have worked with them constantly, and I am satisfied that most of the great philanthropic movements of the century have sprung from them."

Lord Ashley.

While yet at Harrow he had been horrified by the sight of a pauper's funeral, and then and there had devoted his life to the cause of the poor and friendless. Few boyish resolves have been more nobly kept. When he entered Parliament (1826) many evils were crying aloud for remedy. The condition of the mad-houses was appalling. No attempt was made to minister to a mind diseased: the only thought was by whip and chain to save the community from danger. Still more awful was the fate of the children, who had

White Slavery.

[1] *Memoir of Buxton*, p. 325. [2] *Life*, III, 3.



LORD ASHLEY

IN 1828

FROM A DRAWING BY JOSEPH SLATER

been caught in the grip of the new industrial system. Lancashire factories bought them by barge-loads from the London workhouses, and held them for years, nominally as apprentices, really as slaves. In a stifling atmosphere babies of five were made to stand on stools, and feed the great machines for fourteen hours a day. Underground in the mines things were even worse. Children of six were sitting alone all day in pitch darkness, opening and shutting doors as the trucks ran by. But lunatics and children alike had now found their champion.

Lunacy and Factory Reform.

Lord Ashley's first task was fairly easy. He persuaded Parliament to appoint fifteen Lunacy Commissioners, of whom he was one; and in time all the asylums in the country were reformed. But the other task was far more difficult. The mill-owners and mine-owners were almost omnipotent in the House of Commons; all the wealth of the country was against him, and most of the leading statesmen. British industries would be ruined, it was said, if Parliament interfered. He was defeated again and again. Every method of obstruction was tried, including Commissions of Inquiry. Half-measures were brought forward to displace the measure that was thorough. But with iron tenacity of purpose he held on his way, and at last (1847), after seventeen years of labour and almost incessant abuse, he saw his Factory Bill take its place on the Statute Book, and the worst of the evils finally swept away. We shall meet with Lord Ashley again in our later chapters. His long life of inces-

sant usefulness covered two, if not three, generations. But, as we leave his political work, it is fair to remember this, that though Churchmen of other schools have done much for social improvement, there is no party that can show such a splendid record of Christian Socialism as that which boasts the three names of Wilberforce, Buxton, Shaftesbury.

The First Bishops. (1) Henry Ryder.

In 1815 the Evangelicals obtained their first Bishopric by the appointment of Henry Ryder to the see of Gloucester. For years he had been a country parson of the usual type, regarding all "Church-Methodists" as quite beyond the pale, and twice, when invited to preach the Visitation sermon at Leicester, he had attacked Robinson's teaching[1] courteously but very strongly. Later, however, he made Robinson's acquaintance, and was led to adopt the views that he had so vigorously opposed, and Lutterworth pulpit again rang with the doctrines of John Wyclif. Great was the dismay among old-fashioned Churchmen, when his promotion to a Bishopric was known. Archbishop Sutton protested so strongly that for months Lord Liverpool hesitated to issue the *congé d'élire*. Then the Dean and Chapter tried to exclude him from the cathedral pulpit. The Government was called upon to defend the appointment in the House of Lords. But his tact and humility weathered the storm, and when he was translated to the see of Lichfield (1824) not a word of protest was heard. True, we are told that many flocked

[1] See p. 120.

"to see this great curiosity, a religious bishop."[1] "Many have expressed their astonishment," wrote one of his clergy,[2] "that a person could be an ultra-religionist without being the morose and violent ascetic they expected." But for twelve years he ruled his diocese so wisely and well that he won the respect of men of all parties. His presence on the Episcopal Bench meant much for the Evangelicals, and especially for the C.M.S. Hitherto every Bishop had refused to ordain men for work outside his diocese, and every missionary had been forced to serve first in some English curacy. Ryder took a broader view, and consented to ordain men direct for the foreign field, and in this and many other ways proved himself a warm friend to the great societies.

(2) C. R. Sumner.

In 1826 Charles Richard Sumner was consecrated as Bishop of Llandaff. While still a curate he had attracted the notice of George IV, and had been appointed his domestic chaplain. Here he quickly proved his strength. Finding the King one day storming at a servant, "he told him plainly that he did not seem in a fit state to receive the Communion, that he must learn to restrain his passion, and must show his forgiveness by reinstating his servant. At this stage he requested permission to retire, to enable His Majesty to think over the matter. When he was readmitted, the King told him that the servant should be restored. Mr. Sumner then urged that the King

[1] B. V.'s (Benjamin Vale?) Reminiscences in *Record*.

[2] Letter quoted in *Life of Bishop Shirley*, p. 63.

should not receive the Communion alone, but with the rest of the household. For a time the King demurred, but at last consented, and knelt at the Holy Table with his household, the servant who had been at fault being one of the communicants."[1] When he was appointed Bishop of Llandaff he went to live in his diocese, which was still an almost unheard-of thing for a Welsh Bishop to do, and made searching inquiries into its condition. He found more than half the parishes without a resident clergyman; his cathedral was in ruins; the country churches were almost incredibly neglected. But he had no time to carry out the sweeping reforms he planned, for at the end of a year he became Bishop of the far larger diocese of Winchester, which he ruled for forty-two years (1827–69).

Here his presence worked what was little short of a revolution. For the first time the diocese was divided into rural deaneries. Every part was periodically visited by the Bishop in person. Vigorous war was waged against the absentee incumbents. A new standard of work and efficiency was set before the clergy. A second Sunday service was insisted on in 161 parishes. Neglect of church buildings was no longer tolerated. "It is not fitting that the House of God should be connected in the minds of the people with associations of neglect and discomfort. No very inaccurate judgement may be formed of the state of religion in a parish by the care with which the decent appearance of its church and churchyard is

[1] *Life*, p. 78.

maintained."[1] A Church Building Society was started, and a Diocesan Board of Education, and a special Fund for South London, which was then part of the diocese. The Channel Islands, which had not seen any of their Bishops since the Reformation, and where, in consequence, Confirmation was a thing unknown, were now visited regularly every three years, and here the Bishop was specially popular owing to his knowledge of French. But in all his busy official life he never tried to conceal his strong Evangelical views. He preached and spoke regularly for all the great societies. In charges to the clergy and addresses to the ordination candidates the importance of preaching Christ crucified was always the central theme; and when any difficult post was waiting to be filled, it was generally to the ranks of the Evangelicals that he turned to find his man.

(3) J. B. Sumner.

In 1828 his elder brother, John Bird Sumner, became Bishop of Chester, which was then the largest and most populous diocese in England. A ripe scholar, a fluent writer, a kindly, simple-hearted man, he grappled with the task before him with tremendous energy. Churches were built at an unprecedented rate; in nineteen years he consecrated no less than 232. Everywhere he stirred up his clergy to start day schools and Sunday schools. For the pew problem he had a rough and ready remedy. In one church he found people standing in the aisles, while several pews were empty. At once he stopped the service, and asked why this was. "The pews are private

[1] *Primary Charge.*

property," he was told, "and the owners have shut them up." "There can be no such thing," he said, "in the House of God. Send for a blacksmith to take off the locks. We will sing a hymn while he does it." To the infant Church Pastoral-Aid Society he was a pillar of strength. All the plans were submitted to him before the Society was formed, all the changes which he suggested were accepted by the Committee, and through its troubled early years he was ever ready to defend it on the platform and to give it private advice. He was famous as the first Bishop to abolish much of episcopal state. Both at Chester and later (1848–62) as Archbishop of Canterbury he lived the quiet, frugal life of a country clergyman, rising at dawn, lighting his fire, and dealing with most of his letters before breakfast. He refused to wear an episcopal wig or to drive in a state coach. He preferred to walk to the House of Lords with his umbrella under his arm, and when critics clamoured for the outriders and attendants with drawn swords, answered "I cannot imagine that any greater reproach could be cast on the Church than to suppose that it allowed its dignity to interfere with its usefulness."

In London the Evangelicals were still a small body, though two of their number were the most popular preachers of the day, Thomas Dale of St. Bride's, Fleet Street (1835–46),[1] and Henry Melvill of Camden Chapel

The Great Cities. (1) London.

[1] Canon of St. Paul's, 1843–1870. Vicar of St. Pancras', 1846–1860. Rector of Therfield, Hertfordshire, 1861–1870. Dean of Rochester, 1870.

(1829–43).[1] Neither was eloquent in the sense in which some provincial preachers were eloquent. Dale was a queer-looking little man, who bent low over his manuscript, and read rapidly for more than an hour without once looking up. Melvill, "the Evangelical Chrysostom," was a rhetorician rather than an orator, who spun the most marvellously involved metaphors in the fashion which Chalmers made popular. But for years there was not standing room to be found in either of their churches, and rival omnibus conductors yelled their names as the chief attraction on their routes. Some of the new churches also obtained Evangelical clergy, such as Holy Trinity, Sloane Street, where Henry Blunt drew around him what was perhaps the most influential congregation in London. At Clapham William Dealtry was worthily continuing the traditions of Venn, while at the new church of St. James' was Charles Bradley, a very striking preacher. Harrow, on the other side of London, was another Evangelical centre. J. W. Cunningham's gentle influence was felt (1811–61) not only in his large parish, and in the School on the Hill, the boys of which at this time filled the galleries of the parish church; but from every part of the city men drove out to seek his counsel and advice.

Daniel Wilson.

The chief event, however, of this period in London was the appointment of Daniel Wilson to be Vicar of Islington (1824). He had been Vice-Principal of St. Edmund Hall (1807–1812),

[1] Principal of East India College, Haileybury, 1843–1857. Canon of St. Paul's, 1856–1871. Rector of Barnes, Surrey, 1863–1871.

and in 1812 had succeeded Cecil at St. John's, Bedford Row; while there he had founded (1813) the London Clerical Education Society on the lines of the Societies we have already seen at Elland and Creaton and Bristol. The Islington seat-holders bitterly resented the advent of an Evangelical. Moreover, they had come to regard the church as their private property, and the Vicar as their private chaplain, who acted dishonourably if he ministered to any one outside the circle of his employers; and this when the population was over thirty thousand and the green fields on every side were being cut up into streets. It needed no little tact to establish a new regime without losing all the old congregation, but somehow Wilson accomplished it. A Sunday evening service was started at which all seats were free. The whole parish was mapped out into districts, and house-to-house visitors enrolled. Nine Sunday-schools were at once opened, and in a few years the number was increased to fifteen. At his first Confirmation he presented to the Bishop 780 candidates. An early morning administration of the Holy Communion—a privilege then mainly to be found in Evangelical churches—the use of the Litany on Wednesday and Friday, and a service on every Saint's Day were some of his innovations. Three new churches were built to seat more than five thousand people. And when he became Bishop of Calcutta in 1832 he left behind him a parish proverbial for strength and efficiency.

Outside London considerable progress was being

made. This was the time of the winning of the provincial cities. Hitherto, with the exception of Leicester and Hull, the Evangelicals had hardly been able to get a footing in them. Most of the livings were in the gift of the corporations, and a good story at a city dinner was the surest passport to promotion.[1] Bristol was won by Thomas Tregenna Biddulph, son of the Vicar of Padstow, and pupil of George Conon. Hitherto Evangelical clergy had been despised and sneered at. When Biddulph himself was Curate of St. Mary-le-port, well-to-do people left their carriages several streets away and came on foot to avoid observation, and when he became Vicar of St. James', in 1799, he preached his first sermon from the text, "This I confess unto thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers." Here he remained for nearly forty years, and for the last twenty his was the leading church in the city. At first there was strong opposition. A violent pamphlet accused him of being a dissenter in disguise, and, as proof, pointed to his use of hymns, his evening service, his extempore preaching, and his weekly meeting for communicants—a charge which was more than usually ridiculous in his case, for devotion to the Church was one of his chief characteristics. A glance down the list of his writings, *Sermons on the Liturgy*, *Sermons on the Collects*, *Reasons for Communion with the Church of England*, *The Forms of the Church*

(2) Bristol.

[1] This system was abolished by the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 to the great advantage of the Evangelicals.

opposed to Formality, etc., etc., shows how often he taught his people to value their Church privileges. He was no orator, but a supremely successful teacher and pastor, and for many years his influence in Bristol was extraordinary. The Corporation always looked to him for advice in the appointments that they made to the city livings, and he was careful to select the best man possible for each post. The result was that to Churchmen, weary with the type of services elsewhere, Bristol became proverbial as "the land of Goshen." "I could not but admire," wrote Henry Budd,[1] "the efficiency of the Evangelical body in Bristol. Every man seemed to do his duty under Biddulph as their leader, and I could not help considering him as virtually Bishop of Bristol."

(3) Liverpool.

Liverpool had fought hard for the continuance of the slave trade, and had never forgiven the men who led the agitation against it. For years the only Evangelical church was St. Mark's, a proprietary chapel which the Corporation always declined to recognise; and it must be confessed that Richard Blacow, its extraordinarily vehement incumbent, was hardly the man to commend his principles to the hostile merchants around. The amazing violence of his pulpit language was always getting him into trouble; more than once he was prosecuted for libel, and he so let his tongue run away with him during the troubles of Queen Caroline, that he had to stand his trial at the Lancaster Assizes. The tide began to turn, however,

[1] Letter quoted in *Life of Budd*, p. 267.

in 1814, when an iron church was built at Everton, a pleasant village on the northern heights, where many of the merchants lived, and Robert Buddicom was elected minister, defeating the Corporation candidate by a large majority. In the following year John Gladstone, the father of the future Premier, built St. Andrew's and St. Thomas', Seaforth, and travelled to Cambridge to consult Simeon as to the men he should appoint. But it was the coming of Hugh McNeile that made Church life in Liverpool what it is to-day. A big, impetuous, eloquent Irishman with a marvellously attractive personality and a magnificent voice, he was undoubtedly one of the greatest orators of the age. His plunge into Liverpool life was very characteristic. When he came to be Curate-in-charge of St. Jude's in 1834, the Town Council had just decided that the Corporation schools should no longer be opened with prayer, that the Bible should be banished, and a book of Scripture Extracts substituted, taken largely from the Douay Version, and that no further religious instruction should be given during school-hours. McNeile flung himself into the fray, and led the opposition. At a great meeting in the Amphitheatre he boldly appealed for funds to open rival schools, and £3000 was promised on the spot—an amount which in a few days increased to £10,000. A circular to the parents next persuaded them to withdraw their children; and north and south the Corporation schools were left almost empty, while the temporary buildings which the Churchmen had

taken were crowded to the doors. New schools began to arise as fast as sites could be found, and the Town Council with its great majority had to own itself defeated by one who was almost a perfect stranger to the city. From that moment his power in municipal life was absolute. No Town Council again dared to dispute his will. He made and unmade mayors as easily as Warwick made kings. And he did all this with little or no organization behind him. He ruled by the sheer splendour of his overwhelming eloquence. He was not always wise. The Celt in him was capable at times of even blazing indiscretions; but men listened to him, trusted him, followed him, hated what he told them to hate, and did what he told them to do; and when, in 1868, he became Dean of Ripon, he left a city which still reflects, both in its strong Evangelicalism and in the somewhat orange hue which this at times assumes, the personality of the brilliant Irishman who once took it by storm.

(4) Manchester.

What McNeile did for Liverpool, Hugh Stowell did for Manchester. Here, too, Evangelicalism had always been very weak, though Cornelius Bayley, as we have seen, had built and become first minister of St. James' as early as 1788, and later St. Clement's, Salford, and All Saints' had Evangelical incumbents. In 1828, however, with great hesitation Bishop Blomfield licensed a young Manxman from St. Edmund Hall, who was reported to be "an extemporaneous firebrand," to be Curate of St. Stephen's, Salford. In

a few weeks there was no standing-room in the church. Stowell's oratory was even more fervid than McNeile's, though it had not quite the same strong intellectual fibre. His first words were always halting, but, when he warmed to his subject, the rush of rhetoric fairly swept his hearers off their feet. The May meeting audiences were entirely at his mercy; they wept, or laughed, or emptied their purses just as he desired. It was obvious that, if Manchester was to keep him, it must offer him something far more permanent than a curacy; so in 1831 his friends built Christ Church, Salford, and here he remained till his death in 1865. He was a strong party man —"In his estimation to belong to no party was to have no fixed opinions, no strong and firm convictions"[1]—but at the same time he was a very definite Churchman: when asked to urge the Manchester Clergy to join the undenominational Evangelical Alliance, he wrote:[2] "We cannot identify ourselves with an Association which appears to regard all the unhappy separations from our Church as comparatively unimportant." A very beautiful trait in his character was his love for children; his enormous Sunday-schools were his special pride, and such hymns as "Jesus is our Shepherd," which he wrote for them, show how well he understood the secret of being simple because definite. His love for children drew him into municipal life. The Lancashire Public School Association had been formed to agitate for secular education, and with a strong Committee

[1] *Life*, p. 451. [2] *Life*, p. 166.

behind it and the Mayor in the chair it held a meeting in the Town Hall to send a petition to Parliament. Stowell attended the meeting and obtained permission to speak, which he did for more than two hours with such effect that he carried an amendment praying the House "not to sanction any system of general education, of which the Christian religion is not the basis."[1] From that day he was recognised as a power that had to be reckoned with, and his authority steadily grew as years went on, until it became almost as great as that of McNeile in Liverpool. The influence of these two men forms a curious chapter in provincial history. Neither was a political parson of the usual type. Pulpit and parish were to each the main interest of his life. But they did bring religion to bear on political and municipal life with such effect that a majority of the laity looked to them for guidance, and little was done without first asking their counsel and consent.

(5) Birmingham.

In 1829 Charlie Curtis, the old fox-hunting Rector of Birmingham, died, and another great city came under Evangelical influence.[2] The advowsons of the Parish Church and three daughter churches had been inherited by a certain Thomas Walker, who conveyed the patronage to a body of trustees, pledged "to elect no one whose sentiments are not in accordance with the principles of the Reformation, and whose life and

[1] *Life*, p. 205.

[2] Hitherto the only Evangelical Church had been St. Mary's, where Edward Burn had been ministering since 1785.

conversation do not plainly evince that he is truly devoted to God."[1] In this way each of the leading churches received in time an Evangelical incumbent, the best-known being the saintly William Marsh of St. Thomas', and John Garbett of St. George's.

The watering places also formed strong strategic centres. Henry Venn Elliott at St. Mary's, Brighton (1827–65), and Francis Close at Cheltenham (1826–56), preached to congregations drawn from all parts of England. The latter ranked with Stowell and McNeile as one of the orators of the party, and he ruled Cheltenham from his pulpit throne to such an extent that the wits described it as "a Close borough." He fought the local magnates and stopped the races. No meeting could be held without his permission. "He was Pope of Cheltenham," said *The Times*,[2] "with pontifical prerogatives from which the temporal had not been severed. In the bosom of hundreds and thousands of households his social decrees were accepted without a thought of the possibility of opposition. If a popular preacher is to be presented with a sceptre, it may be admitted that none could have held it more judiciously or more uprightly."

Close of Cheltenham.

On January 1, 1828, the first number of the *Record* appeared.[3] It was intended to be "primarily a

[1] Trust Deed.

[2] Leading article, December 19, 1882.

[3] At first it appeared twice a week and its price was sevenpence. In 1855 it became a tri-weekly, and reduced its price to threepence. In 1882 it became a fourpenny weekly. In 1899 the price was reduced to threepence. In 1905 the price was further reduced to one penny.

political journal,"[1] but one which approached public questions from the Evangelical point of view, and excluded from its columns "everything injurious to religion and morality."[1] At first it was a failure. At the end of six months the original capital of £1200 was exhausted, and the proprietors had just decided to stop publication, when a young Scotch barrister was introduced to them, a leader of the anti-Apocrypha party in the Bible Society's Committee. Alexander Haldane was a man of deep and genuine piety, but a true son of that uncompromising land beyond the Tweed, where toleration is deemed to be the eighth of the deadly sins. His brilliant and incisive pen at once made the paper a success, but it is doubtful whether this was a real gain for the party. Haldane was never a typical Evangelical: his dour tone and unceasing controversy were deeply distasteful to many,[2]

The "Record."

[1] Prospectus.

[2] e.g. *The Christian Observer* (December, 1833) expressed its "sincere grief that a publication which might have been a great blessing to the nation should have impeded its usefulness by its violent party spirit, its utter lack of good temper, its gross injustice, and its advocacy of whatever is arbitrary and bigoted. It has given new acrimony to religious controversy, and threatens to do the work of the accuser of the brethren more effectually than he could do it for himself." J. W. Cunningham wrote (*Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, Vol. II, p. 47): "You would do the greatest injustice to very large numbers who agree with the *Record* in certain leading sentiments, if you should suspect them of not cordially condemning both many of the sentiments of the editor and the spirit in which they are expressed. Though many take in the paper as a matter of convenience, almost every reader of my acquaintance is loud in his complaints both of the temper and the logic of the leading articles." Mr. Eugene Stock

yet all had to pay the penalty for his violence, for the man in the street, who never entered an Evangelical church, naturally formed his impression of the party from its leading organ, and much of the dislike which Evangelicals had to endure later, was due to the fact that for many people Evangelicalism meant the *Record*.

Millenarianism.

In doctrine the position of the party remained unchanged, save that the ultra-Calvinists were becoming fewer. One new point, however, did come to the front. The interest in the conversion of the Jews had called attention to the prophecies of their future restoration; and at the same time the slow progress that the Church was making, now that the first fervour of the Revival had passed away, was leading ardent spirits to wonder whether the work could ever be done by the methods then in use. The result was the appearance of two books, one by Hatley Frere,[1] the other by Lewis Way, champion of the Jews' Society,[2] maintaining that the view which had prevailed since the time of Augustine, that the Second Coming of Christ would be at the end of the world, was contrary to Scripture, and that

writes (*History of C.M.S.*, Vol. II, p. 650): "Venn's private journals reveal his not infrequent dissatisfaction with the editorial utterances." Archbishop Sumner declared (*Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, Vol. II, p. 219): "The conduct of the *Record* is execrable." The *Record* of to-day has, of course, long outgrown the violence of its youth.

[1] *A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, Esdras, and S. John.* 1815.

[2] *Thoughts on the Scriptural Expectations of the Christian Church*, by Basilicus. 1823.

the earlier view of the second and third centuries was the true one, that Christ would return and reign on earth for a thousand years, and that the Church would win its victories under His visible leadership. These books aroused great interest among Bible students, and Henry Drummond, the banker, invited (1826) all who were studying the subject to confer together in his beautiful home at Albury, in Surrey. As a result of these conferences the *Morning Watch* was started, an able little paper which carried the new teaching into hundreds of Evangelical homes. On some the effect was disastrous—"The good folk here," wrote Edward Bickersteth of the Midland counties in 1831,[1] "are all afloat on prophesying, and the immediate work of the Lord is disregarded for the uncertain future,"—but for others the thought that the night was far spent and the Day at hand only proved an additional motive for earnest prayerful work. The majority of the party, however, did not adopt these views, and Waldegrave's Bampton Lectures against Millenarianism (1853) helped to confirm them in their decision.

Were they Dominant?

Two questions remain to be answered. There is a widespread idea that on the eve of the Oxford Movement the Evangelicals were dominant and decadent. The first mistake[2] has arisen through confounding them with their op-

[1] *Memoir*, Vol. II, p. 43.

[2] Cf. *Times* leading article, January 31, 1879: "When the present century was still young the Evangelical Party was dominant in the English Church and State."

ponents, the Low Churchmen.[1] True, their influence had increased enormously, and they had now three Bishops among their number, but in most dioceses they were still ecclesiastical pariahs. In 1820, for example, Bishop Marsh of Peterborough invented his famous "trap," eighty-seven cunningly chosen questions on Justification, Predestination, and Regeneration, to which "full, clear, unequivocal and satisfactory" answers had to be given before any curate could obtain a licence or incumbent be admitted to a benefice, a test deliberately invented to exclude all Evangelicals from his diocese. In most parts of England they were still a small

[1] The name Low Church was coined early in the eighteenth century to describe the Whig Latitudinarian clergy. Cf. Sacheverell's *Character of a Low Churchman*, 1702: "We will sum up the articles of a Low Churchman's creed. He believes very little or no Revelation, and had rather lay his faith upon the substantial Evidences of his own Reason than the precarious Authority of Divine Testimony. He had rather be a Deist, Socinian or Nestorian than afront his own Understanding with believing what is Incomprehensible, or be so rude as to obtrude on others what he cannot himself Explain. He thinks the Articles of the Church too Stiff, Formal and Straitlaced a Rule to confine his Faith in. He looks upon the censuring of False Doctrine as a Dogmatical Usurpation, an Intrusion upon that Human Liberty, which he sets up as the Measure and Extent of his Belief." Defoe's *Phenix*, 1708: "That Party which were afterwards called Latitudinarians, and are at this day our Low Churchmen." Bedford's *Vindication of the Church of England*, 1710: "He is so wretched a Low Churchman as to dispute all the articles of the Christian Faith." The name was accepted by the clergy of this school: cf. tracts of the period, e.g. Hancock's *Low Churchmen vindicated from the Unjust Imputation of being No Churchmen*, 1705. *The Low Churchman a True Churchman*, 1706. *The Principles of the Low Churchmen fairly Represented and Defended*, 1714. The Low Churchmen had been the chief persecutors of the Methodists and early Evangelicals.

minority. "When I came to Islington in 1832," said Daniel Wilson the younger,[1] "the Evangelical body was represented in London by men few in number and holding for the most part subordinate positions."

Were they Decadent?

The other delusion, often held by writers on the Oxford Movement, is that though the early Evangelicals had done useful work, their descendants were quite degenerate, with narrow minds, filthy churches, empty shibboleths, and lazy lives. Even Dean Church wrote: "The Evangelical School presented all the characteristics of an exhausted teaching and a spent enthusiasm."[2] The only truth at the bottom of this accusation seems to be that every party, as it grows, must increase the number of its unworthy adherents, men who call themselves by the name but have little of the spirit. It is impossible to detect any degeneracy in the real Evangelicals. So far from being narrow-minded bigots, they were often unexpectedly broadminded. When the Protestant drum was beating wildly in 1829, Wilberforce, Thornton, Buxton, the Grants, and Lord Ashley all voted for Roman Catholic Emancipation, as did Bishop Ryder and the two Sumners in the House of Lords, though by so doing the Bishop of Winchester lost the friendship of the King. Daniel Wilson also wrote a pamphlet[3] in favour of the Bill, which received the

[1] Speech at Islington Meeting, *Record*, January 19, 1877.

[2] *The Oxford Movement*, chap. I.

[3] *Catholic Emancipation and Protestant Responsibility*, 1829.

approbation of the aged Simeon. In the Bible Society controversy, too, almost all the Evangelical leaders were opposed to any test.

So far from their churches being neglected, they were probably the best kept in the whole country. True, there was little decoration. It did not occur to them that high-backed pews and heavy galleries were ugly, so long as they were thronged with people eager to worship God. But the roof was always watertight, and the walls in repair, and mushrooms could not thrive in pews that were so often used. As to their personal religious life, it is enough to quote two quite impartial witnesses. Speaking of a period a little later, when the decadence, if it had existed, would have been even more obvious, Mr. G. W. E. Russell writes:[1] "I recall an abiding sense of religious responsibility, a self-sacrificing energy in works of mercy, an evangelistic zeal, an aloofness from the world, and a level of saintliness in daily life such as I do not expect again to see realised on earth. Everything down to the minutest details of action and speech was considered with reference to eternity. Daily duty was done as in the Great Taskmaster's eye. Money was regarded as a sacred trust, and people of good positions and comfortable incomes habitually kept their expenditure within narrow limits that they might contribute more largely to objects which they held sacred. The Evangelicals were the most religious people whom I have ever known." "The deepest and most fervid religion in

[1] *The Household of Faith*, p. 232.

England," wrote Liddon in his *Life of Pusey*,[1] "during the first three decades of this century was that of the Evangelicals."

FOR FURTHER STUDY. Overton's *English Church in the Nineteenth Century, 1800–1833.* Stoughton's *Religion in England, 1800–1850.* Moule's *Evangelical School in the Church of England. Memoirs of T. F. Buxton*, by his son. Stephen's *Slavery of the West India Colonies Delineated.* Hodder's *Life of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury.* Engels' *Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844.* Hutchins' *History of Factory Legislation. Report of Select Committee on Factory Children's Labour*, 1831. *Children's Employment Commission: Second Report*, 1843. Wing's *Evils of the Factory System. Life of Chas. Sumner*, by his son. Bateman's *Life of Bishop Wilson.* Marsden's *Memoirs of Hugh Stowell. Life of Wm. Marsh*, by his daughter. Bateman's *Life of H. V. Elliott. Alexander Haldane: A Biographical Sketch. Dictionary of National Biography*—Biddulph, Blunt, Buxton, Close, A. A. Cooper, Cunningham, Dale, Dealtry, E. B. Elliott, H. V. Elliott, McNeile, Marsh, Ryder, Stowell, C. R. Sumner, J. B. Sumner, Wilson.

[1] Vol. I, p. 255.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CLOUD OF CONTROVERSY

"Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free."

IN almost all the great religions it is possible to discern two schools of worshippers, one ceremonial, sacerdotal, sacrificial, thinking much of valid rites and consecrated places, the other seeking direct personal access to the Deity, and thinking mainly of the inner life of the individual soul. It was so in ancient Egypt; it is so in India to-day. In Greece some gathered round the Oracle and the Altar; others, no less devout, gathered round the Academy and the Porch. In Judaism the priest made his appeal through the symbolism of the sanctuary; the Prophet made his appeal direct to the conscience and the heart. Within the Christian Church also both these schools are found, and, though they came into violent conflict at the Reformation, the Church of England managed to retain many of either section, so that from the sixteenth century onward she has had among her members some who regard the Christian life as primarily guided by a Church, and others who regard it as primarily inspired by a

Religion. We have watched the awakening of the latter school to great strength and vigour.

The Oxford Movement.

The time had now come when the former ideal, which had been lying dormant in scores of country parsonages, would also assert its claim to be considered. First Keble dreamed dreams in his country curacy. Then Hurrell Froude, his eager disciple, brought those dreams to Oxford, and won his chief convert, John Henry Newman. Newman had once been an Evangelical; he owed his soul, he said,[1] to Scott the commentator, and had been Secretary of the Oxford Association of the Church Missionary Society;[2] but in the atmosphere of the Oriel common-room his early faith had withered, and when Froude captured him he was drifting towards unbelief. In many ways the moment was propitious (1833) for trying to revive the idea of the majesty and authority of the Church. A Whig ministry had told the Bishops to set their house in order. Ten Irish sees had been suppressed by Act of Parliament. Dr. Arnold was

[1] *Apologia*, chap. I.

[2] Later he formed an ingenious plan for capturing this Society. In 1830 he wrote and privately circulated a pamphlet, *Suggestions in Behalf of the Church Missionary Society, by a Master of Arts*, urging High Churchmen to take advantage of the rule by which all clergy who subscribe are members of the Committee, and in this way to obtain control of the Society, and "annex it to the Christian Knowledge and Propagation Societies." Five hundred copies of the pamphlet were distributed, but the scheme did not commend itself to his friends. "Very few," wrote Mozley, "approve of the plan or think it practicable." See Newman's *Letters*, Vol. I, and *The Via Media*, Vol. II.

propounding schemes for union with Dissenters; and the old-fashioned High Church clergy were stirred as they had not been stirred since the days of Sacheverell.

The Tracts.

Newman had learned as an Evangelical the power and the value of tracts, and he planned a series of pamphlets deliberately intended to startle, "as a man might give notice of a fire."[1] Zealous friends rode about England distributing bundles of them, but the scheme seemed a failure. "The Tracts are defunct or *in extremis*," he wrote two years later,[2] "Rivington has written to say that they do not answer." At this moment Pusey definitely threw in his lot with the party, a man of deep and contagious earnestness and wide and curious learning. "Without him," said Newman,[3] "we should have had little chance." He changed altogether the character of the Tracts. No. LXVII was no leaflet but a long treatise, and it was followed by others of a similar character. Their success was immediate. "The Tracts have taken to selling so well," wrote Newman in 1837,[4] "that Rivington has recommended double editions." Churchmen of every school began to realise that this group of Oxford friends was a force that could not be ignored.

Hitherto the movement had encountered little opposition from Evangelicals. The Tracts were

[1] Advertisement to Vol. III of *Tracts*.
[2] Letter to Froude, August 9, 1835. *Letters and Correspondence*.
[3] *Apologia*, chap. II.
[4] *Life of Manning*, I, 225.

criticized at an Islington Clerical Meeting. One or two were rather severely reviewed in the *Christian Observer*. But so long as their object was mainly to defend the dignity of the Church, there was no general outcry against them. "We need only express," wrote the *Christian Observer*,[1] "our full conviction of the Apostolical succession of Holy Orders in the Church of England. There is no historical fact on which we more confidently rely": and when the *Record* in its review of the Tracts spoke rather slightingly on the subject, it raised such a storm amongst its readers, that the Editor had to apologize. "We do not deny the Apostolic Succession," he wrote,[2] "we only attach an inferior degree of importance to it to that expressed by our correspondents."

Evangelical Attitude.

But soon a change in the Tractarians themselves made opposition imperative. Younger and more daring men pushed their way to the front, while their elders followed in the rear with no small hesitation. Oakeley, Dalgairns, Faber, Ward were now the real leaders, and of their entire disloyalty there can be no question. Ward defended his marriage on the ground that, as English orders were invalid, he was in God's sight only a layman. His position is stated by his son with perfect candour:[3] "He felt bound to retain his external communion with the English Church, be-

The Romanizers.

[1] September, 1836.
[2] *Record*, December 12, 1833.
[3] *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 356.

cause he believed that he was bringing many of its members towards Rome, and to unite himself with the Church which he loved, if by so doing he thwarted the larger and fuller victory of the truth, seemed a course both indefensible and selfish." Faber prepared for his work at Elton in Huntingdonshire, when he was appointed Rector, by a pilgrimage to Rome, where he gained "great comfort" from the shrine of St. Aloysius the Jesuit, and returned pledged that his life should be "one crusade against the detestable and diabolical heresy of Protestantism."[1] While—to quote one more example, to show that the opposition of Evangelicals was no narrow-minded bigotry, but a real duty, which could not possibly be shirked—Ward and Dalgairns wrote to the *Univers*, a French Roman Catholic organ:[2] "We love with unfeigned affection the Apostolic See. We are destined to bring many wandering sheep back to the knowledge of the truth. Let us remain quiet for some years, till by God's blessing the ears of Englishmen become accustomed to hear the name of Rome pronounced with reverence." This side of the movement culminated in Tract No. XC (1840), in which Newman tried to prove that the Thirty-Nine Articles, though "the product of an un-Catholic age," were "patient of a Catholic interpretation," and that the Roman doctrines of purgatory, pardons, images, and the mass were not condemned by them, but only certain perversions of those doctrines,

[1] *Life of Faber*, 156.

[2] April 13, 1841. Reprinted, *Catholic Magazine*, p. 310, 1841.

which all instructed Roman theologians themselves repudiate.

This Tract naturally aroused great indignation; but the leaders in the outcry were not the Evangelicals.

The Opposition.

Newman's chief opponents at Oxford were C. P. Golightly, a High Churchman of the older school, and A. C. Tait, the Broad-Church Fellow of Balliol, while the first really violent attack upon the Tractarians in the Press was an article in the *Edinburgh Review* written by Dr. Arnold.[1] Broad Churchmen, Low Churchmen, and old-fashioned High Churchmen were quite as opposed to the Oxford school as any Evangelical, and again it is necessary to emphasize the fact that the Low Churchmen and the Evangelicals were quite separate bodies. The clergy who only gave their flock a service once a fortnight, the clergy whose churches were falling to pieces through dirt and dampness and decay, the fashionable, card-playing clergy of the towns, the port-loving, fox-hunting squarsons of the villages were all Low Churchmen to a man, but some of them would have used very strong language, if they had been called Evangelicals. Indeed, the whole Evangelical movement had been a protest and a struggle against the Low Church system, and the Low Churchmen had been the bitterest opponents of the Evangelicals. But they had hated Popery even more than prayer-meetings, and they turned aside from persecuting "the nasty and numerous vermin of Methodism" to exterminate "the pragmatical,

[1] April, 1836. "The Oxford Malignants."

perpendicular, Puseyite prigs." The language is that of Sydney Smith, their chief spokesman in the Press.

It is necessary to make this clear, because Evangelicals have sometimes been held responsible for all that was said and done in opposition to the Oxford Movement. As a matter of fact, at this stage in the struggle they were not very prominent. They helped to meet Froude's reckless attack on the Reformers by erecting the beautiful Martyrs' Memorial (1841), and by forming the Parker Society (1840) to reprint the works of Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer, and others, which were then almost inaccessible. Lord Ashley became President, 7000 subscribers were enrolled, and fifty-five handsome volumes made the writings of the Reformation Divines so familiar to students that it was no longer possible to score an easy point by assuming that they were coarse and ignorant fanatics.

Surplice troubles in London.

But for the next few years Evangelicals were chiefly engaged, not in attacking others, but in claiming liberty for themselves. Bishop Blomfield of London chose this most unfortunate time, when all the laity were alarmed at what seemed to them a Popish plot, for an attempt to level up the ritual of his diocese. Few men living had ever seen a surplice in the pulpit. For three hundred years it had been the almost universal rule to read prayers in a surplice, but to preach in a black gown. Men of all schools of thought had done it as a matter of course. Now, however, the Tractarians began to preach in surplices, and the

Bishop in his charge of 1842 pronounced that they were right. In the following year, as he met the clergy at his Confirmations, he began to press the matter upon them, together with the use of the Prayer for the Church Militant, even when there was no Communion. Many fell in with his wishes: but he and they had reckoned without the laity. At Ealing the whole congregation walked out of church as soon as the Vicar appeared in the pulpit in his surplice, and in dozens of the other parishes the same thing happened. The congregation of All Hallows, Barking, by the Tower, passed over in a body to St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, which, as a peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury, was outside the Bishop's jurisdiction. The agitation was at its height when the time for the Islington Confirmation came, and it fell to the lot of the incumbents of the eleven parishes, into which Daniel Wilson's had now been divided, to tell the Bishop that it was impossible to carry out his wishes. It was not that they objected to the surplice in itself—indeed, from one point of view the putting on of a special vestment for the sermon was an act of ritual. "There is nothing," said the *Record*,[1] "intrinsically objectionable in the change." "Many clergy," said the *Christian Observer*,[2] "have lamented that custom forces them to retire to the vestry, while the praises of God are being sung, instead of proceeding with their fellow-worshippers in the service without break

[1] November, 1842.
[2] April, 1845.

or hindrance." But the conservative instincts of their congregations were too strong for them, and the fact, as the *Times* put it,[1] that "the use of the surplice in preaching, though an indifferent matter, was viewed as a party badge, behind which were to be found all other objectionable innovations." The result was that the Bishop was forced to withdraw his directions, and the black gown remained in general use.

Surplice Troubles in Exeter.

But peace was hardly restored in one diocese before the struggle broke out in another. Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter was the most militant High Churchman on the Bench,[2] and he now began to urge his clergy to preach in the surplice. One of the first to do so, Walter Blunt of Helston, was at once brought by his churchwardens before the Consistory Court (1844), where, however, the Bishop's judgement was very characteristic of the man:[3] "If the churchwardens of Helston shall perform their duty, providing an albe, a vestment, and a cope, as they might be required to do, I shall enjoin the minister to use them: until these ornaments are provided, it is the duty of the minister to use the garment actually provided for him, which is the surplice. The parishioners never provide a gown, nor, if they did, would he have a right to wear it." This uncompromising dictum was followed by a Pastoral

[1] Quoted in *Christian Observer*, March, 1845.

[2] Even he, however, had protested vigorously against *Tract XC.*

[3] The judgement is printed in full in Best's *Report of Proceedings under Commission to inquire into Complaints against the Rev. W. Blunt*, p. 57.

Letter to all his clergy:[1] "The law requires that the surplice be always used in the sermon which is part of the Communion Service,[2] and as to all other times I resolve the doubt by requiring that the surplice be always used." The excitement in the diocese was tremendous. In scores of parishes the congregations walked out of church in a body. In every town large and furious meetings of protest were held. In Exeter some of the clergy were mobbed as they left the church; and at the end of five weeks very reluctantly and ungraciously the Bishop withdrew his order.

This defeat only made him more determined to complete the work he had begun of purging his diocese of Evangelicals. Licences were refused to Evangelical curates; licences were withdrawn from proprietary chapels; the clergy were forbidden to admit into their pulpits deputations from the Evangelical societies. Then he went one step further, and declined to institute an Evangelical incumbent.

The Gorham Case.

This case must be dealt with at some length. George Cornelius Gorham, Vicar of St. Just in Penwith, an old Clapham curate, had already incurred the Bishop's wrath by advertising for a Curate "free from Tractarian error."

[1] *A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese on the Observance of the Rubric*, p. 10.

[2] The Courts, however, decided later (Robinson Wright *v.* Tugwell, November, 1896. Judgement printed in *Church Intelligencer*, January, 1897) that the Bishop was as mistaken on this point as he was in supposing that the Ornaments Rubric required the use of vestments.

In 1847 he accepted the vicarage of Brampford Speke, near Exeter, but the Bishop declined to institute him, although he was already beneficed in the diocese, until he had satisfied himself that he was sound in the faith. Gorham sat for eleven days under examination, and answered 149 questions on the doctrine of Baptism, but at the end the Bishop refused him on the ground of heresy.

Now all clergy of every school believed in baptismal regeneration. Whenever they christened an infant they declared, "this child is regenerate"; but they did not all use the words in the same sense. The Tractarians held the Roman view that regeneration is the new birth spoken of in Scripture, and that this is invariably and inevitably conferred by the act of Baptism. On the other hand, the average Low Churchman believed regeneration to mean nothing more than incorporation into the Visible Church, the being born into a new life of Church membership with new duties, responsibilities, and privileges; and in this sense no one could dispute that every baptised child is regenerate. But the Evangelicals could not accept either of these explanations; the Low Churchman's view of regeneration and the High Churchman's view of the way in which regeneration is given both appeared equally false to the teaching of life and Scripture. They agreed with High Churchmen that regeneration is a great spiritual change, a passing from darkness into light, from the power of Satan unto God, in which men receive remission of sins and an inheritance

among all that are sanctified, but they did not believe that this change could be won by any outward rite alone, however sacred. How, then, could they honestly declare that a child is regenerate in Baptism? In the same way, they answered, that we can say that a child is possessor of an estate when we have seen the legal documents duly signed and sealed, although those documents may contain a clause naming two things that the child must do, when he comes of age, before he enters into possession. We charitably take it for granted that the child will not be so mad as to forfeit so fair a property by refusing to fulfil the reasonable conditions which his guardians have promised in his name. In the same way by Baptism, as the 27th Article declares, "the promises of the forgiveness of sins and of our adoption to be the sons of God are visibly signed and sealed," but there are two conditions,[1] "repentance whereby they forsake sin, and faith whereby they steadfastly believe," which, "when they come of age, themselves are bound to perform." That is to say, the baptismal blessing is *conditional* on the keeping of the promises, and our service is drawn up on the *charitable hypothesis* that this condition will be fulfilled.

Gorham was not quite a representative man. As the Bishop soon found out to his cost, he possessed a perfectly encyclopædic knowledge of the byways of theology, and he had so steeped his mind in the minor controversies of the Reformation period that

[1] *Church Catechism.*

he was carefully guarding against heresies which were hardly known by name to any living theologian. His three main points, however, were clear and simple: (1) Baptism is a sacrament generally necessary to salvation, but the regenerating grace of God is not absolutely tied to this ordinance; it may be granted before, or after, as well as *in*, Baptism. (2) In either sacrament right reception is as necessary as due administration, and where an infant receives worthily, this must be by the help of a "prevenient act of grace." (3) In no case is regeneration in Baptism unconditional.

Few Evangelicals were prepared to defend all his minor points, but they soon saw that they must make his cause their own, for the chief question was his refusal to assent to the Bishop's view, that no man can be considered unregenerate if he has been baptised in infancy. The next step was to apply to the Court of Arches to call on the Bishop to show cause why he should not institute. Here Pusey brought his stores of learning to the Bishop's aid, and undertook to coach the lawyers, which he did with such success, that in 1849 Sir Herbert Fust gave his decision in the Bishop's favour. The position was now very serious. As the *English Churchman*,[1] the Tractarian organ, pointed out in triumph, the Court had declared that no one, who denied Bishop Phillpotts' doctrine, could hold any preferment in the Church of England. Gorham appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, who in-

[1] October 25, 1849.

vited the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London to help them, and Evangelicals realised that this was a fight for existence, and that they must present their case as fully and carefully as possible. Thanks to the learning of William Goode, Rector of All Hallows', Thames Street, they were able to do this with complete success. "As the case went on," wrote William Maskell, the Bishop's Chaplain,[1] "it was impossible not to feel more and more that the reasons and arguments of the Evangelical party had been too lightly esteemed." They were able to show that the views which the Bishop deemed heretical had not only been held by some of the greatest divines of the English Church, Jewell, and Nowell, and Archbishop Ussher, Hooker, and Jeremy Taylor, but had actually been the views of the men who compiled the Prayer Book. In March, 1850, the Court gave its decision:[2] "The doctrine held by Mr. Gorham is not contrary or repugnant to the declared doctrine of the Church of England, and Mr. Gorham ought not, by reason of the doctrine held by him, to have been refused admission to the Vicarage of Brampford Speke."

The Bishop applied to the Court of Queen's Bench, the Court of Common Pleas, and then to the Court of Exchequer for a rule to prevent the Court of Arches giving effect to the decision, but in each case he was refused with costs, and nothing remained but

[1] Maskell's *Second Letter on the Present Position of the High Church Party*, p. 11.

[2] *Judgement of the Judicial Committee*, p. 20.

for him to relieve his feelings by an excommunication of the Archbishop of Canterbury:[1] "We, Henry, Bishop of Exeter, do solemnly protest and declare, that any Archbishop, who shall institute Charles Cornelius Gorham to the cure and government of souls, will thereby incur the Sin of supporting and favouring heretical doctrines, and we do hereby renounce and repudiate all communion with anyone, be he who he may, who shall so institute the said Charles Cornelius Gorham." Nevertheless, in 1851 Gorham was instituted to his benefice, and lived and worked quietly there until his death. The triumph of the Evangelicals on this point was complete. Not only had they convinced the judges, but they had convinced many of their opponents also. Archdeacon Manning, Archdeacon Wilberforce, and many other Tractarians seceded to Rome rather than remain in a Church which was proved not to enforce the Roman doctrine of Baptism. On the other hand, one of the ablest Tractarians, J. B. Mozley, later the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, who was now co-editor of the *Christian Remembrancer*, which had succeeded the *British Critic* as the monthly organ of the party, was so impressed by the evidence brought forward that he entirely changed his opinions on this subject, and his *Review of the Baptismal Controversy* is still the ablest defence of most of the points for which the Evangelicals were contending.

The Gorham case was hardly over when a new

[1] *Protest of the Lord Bishop of Exeter*, 1850, p. 4.

controversy arose. In the earlier days of the Oxford Movement there was no such thing as Ritualism. "The writers of the Tracts," said Pusey,[1] "always deprecated it, especially any revival of disused vestments." Of the Eastward Position he wrote,[2] "It certainly seemed against the rubric. Dear Newman consecrated to the last at the North End." About 1850, however, it became quite clear that the younger men would not be content with levelling their doctrine up to that of Rome, unless they might teach that doctrine through the Roman ceremonial. They were always proclaiming their unity with the rest of the Catholic Church—"There are three branches of the Church," they declared, "the Roman, the Anglican, and the Greek, but in all essentials the doctrine and worship of the three branches are the same"—and therefore they wished the foreign Catholic, who entered one of their churches, to find exactly the type of service to which he was accustomed, and their own people to feel perfectly at home in Catholic churches abroad.[3] On the other hand, Evangelicals steadily maintained that between Rome and England there was a great gulf fixed, for the English Church in the sixteenth century had swept away the superstitions

Ritualism.

[1] Letter to Bishop Tait, quoted in *Life*, IV, 211.

[2] Letter to Scott, quoted in *Life*, IV, 211. He did not adopt this position at Christ Church till Ascension Day, 1871.

[3] Cf. Enraght's *Catholic Worship*, p. 15. "If the English Church be a true portion of the one Catholic Church of Christ, is it not only reasonable that her church buildings and services should resemble those of the other branches of the Church Catholic?"

which the Dark Ages had devised, whereas Rome had not only retained them, but had ever since been adding to their number ; one thing only, they declared, could lawfully bridge that gulf, not imitation on the part of England, but drastic reformation on the part of Rome. The Ritualists very soon assumed the aggressive. In 1859 the English Church Union was formed to drill the party into a fighting force, and at once it began to clamour for litigation. It tried (1860) to prosecute Evangelicals who were holding mission services in theatres ;[1] it tried (1862) to prosecute the Evangelical Bishop of Carlisle for heresy ;[2] and when in both cases prosecution proved impossible, it appealed (1862) to Parliament for a measure to "facilitate the bringing to trial of priests for heresy and breaches of Church discipline."[3] This is interesting in view of the outcry raised by the Union later, when the other side also began to appeal to the Courts.[4]

The Church Association.

It was obvious that those who strongly disapproved of this militant propaganda could not be expected to sit with folded hands, and in 1865 the Church Association was established "to counteract the efforts now being made to pervert the teaching of the Church of England on

[1] *First Annual Report of English Church Union*, p. 23.

[2] *Church Review*, May 17, 1862. Bishop Waldegrave's Primary Charge (October, 1861) had contained an outspoken defence of the Evangelical position.

[3] *Church Review*, April 12, 1862.

[4] The point is dealt with in Church Association Tract CIII, Walsh's *Ecclesiastical Prosecutions originated by the E.C.U.*

essential points of the Christian faith or assimilate her services to those of the Church of Rome." In its early days many of the best Evangelicals were members, and men like Wilson, Auriol, Champneys, Dale, and Miller were on its Council. The first thing to discover was the legal position; what ritual is lawful in the Church of England and what is not? The question was a very complex one. The rubrics had been framed at different dates for differing types of services; sometimes they seemed to conflict with one another; sometimes they seemed inconsistent with the Canons and other documents of authority; and lawyers of the greatest eminence gave contradictory opinions. As Archbishop Benson said later at the time of the Lincoln Judgement,[1] it is impossible "to find out the intention of the Prayer Book merely by a study of the words used in it without a prolonged and careful study of the history that lies behind the words, and of the experience which made up the life of those who first employed them." And behind the interpretation of the rubrics there was another question. The ordinary view was that every mediæval ceremony was abolished except those explicitly or implicitly enjoined in the Prayer Book. On the other hand the Ritualists maintained that any ancient rite was lawful, unless it was specifically forbidden. The Bishops themselves did not know what it was possible to insist on. "When we know what the law is," said Archbishop Tait,[2] "I cannot conceive of any

[1] *Life*, Vol. II, p. 376.

[2] Reply to deputation from Church Association, quoted in *Church Association Monthly Intelligencer*, July, 1869.

person in a responsible position saying otherwise than that he is bound to see that the law is obeyed. As long as the law is extremely doubtful, those who are called to administer it are in a very difficult position." The first aim of the Church Association was to solve these doubts. The tangled story of the long litigation fortunately belongs to the history of Ritualism, and not to our present subject. It is enough to say that a large number of test cases were brought before the Court of Arches, on such points as vestments, incense, altar-lights, etc., that most of the cases were carried by appeal to the Privy Council, and that on almost every point the final decision was against the innovators.

Never were victories more barren. The Ritualists at once adopted the policy of passive resistance. The highest Courts in the land might decide that their interpretation of the rubrics was utterly untenable: they replied that the opinion of a secular Court was a matter of no interest. The Bishops might admonish them to discontinue this or that practice; they followed the example of the Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene, Munster Square, who replied :—[1]

Pyrrhic Victories.

> "I must respectfully decline to obey this command, as I believe that in issuing it you have —unintentionally of course—transgressed the limits of that authority which the Church has committed to her Bishops."

[1] *Life of Archbishop Tait*, Vol. I, p. 221.

When a Royal Commission inquired into the whole matter, its Report hung up indefinitely in Convocation. At last in 1874, as the position seemed getting desperate, Archbishop Tait introduced his Public Worship Regulation Bill, to modify the cumbrous procedure of the old ecclesiastical courts, and to make it possible to deal quickly with clergy who defied the law. But the Ritualists fell back at once on Magna Carta: "*Anglicana ecclesia libera sit.*" No Act of Parliament," wrote Mackonochie of St. Alban's, Holborn,[1] "has power to make any Court for the Church, and any such Court, being made by Act of Parliament, is a violation of the constitution." The inevitable followed. "If men are resolved," wrote the Archbishop,[2] "to set the law at defiance, they must sooner or later feel the power of its arm." Before long several clergy found themselves in prison for contempt of court, and by consenting to suffer imprisonment they won their battle. The one desire of the Bishops now was to stop the scandal, and by vetoing every prosecution they left the Ritualists free to follow the dictates of their private judgement, unfettered by any laws either of Church or realm.

The long and costly controversy had been in vain. The brilliant tactics of the Ritualists had won at every point. They had captured the sympathy of the man in the street by appealing to him as martyrs suffering cruel persecution. Evangelicals found themselves held responsible

Effect on Evangelicals.

[1] Letter to *Record*, quoted in *Life of Mackonochie*, p. 313.

[2] Diary, quoted in *Life of Archbishop Tait*, Vol. II, p. 429.

for acts of outrage and profanity with which they had no connexion. If the mob pelted the clergy with hassocks at St. George's-in-the-East, if the boys of Bordesley scrawled obscenity on the church walls, if the roughs of Deptford took possession of St. James', Hatcham, the unfortunate Evangelicals had always to bear the blame. What wonder if the endless struggle began to get on their nerves! Nothing demoralises an army so quickly as the feeling that at every point it is outmanœuvred by the enemy. Sometimes the sense of proportion seemed to be almost lost. Sometimes the most impossible positions were defended with pathetic devotion, while the most harmless reforms were suspected of being the thin end of some carefully hidden wedge. Baffled and bewildered, no doubt Evangelicals made a hundred mistakes; but this must be said in their favour:—they never dreamed of deserting the ship, even when she seemed to be driving straight upon the rocks. Though the great secession of the Scotch Evangelicals (1843) and the formation of the Free Kirk was a precedent that could not be disregarded; though every Nonconformist paper was loudly urging them to come out; though the Reformed Episcopal Church, a small American body,[1] ordained a Bishop for England, and made desperate efforts to win over many congregations—through all these trying and disheartening years hardly a man

[1] Founded by Bishop Cummins, the Assistant Bishop of Kentucky, who seceded from the Episcopal Church of America in 1873.

left the Church.[1] They went on working quietly in their parishes, engaged and often absorbed in the tasks of which the next chapter will speak. Moreover, even in the matter of ritual, they did not by any means all adopt a merely negative attitude; towards the end of the period they began to borrow from their opponents many useful hints as to methods by which their churches and services might be made more bright and attractive without in any way compromising their doctrinal position. "To confound good music or even a surpliced choir," wrote A. W. Thorold in 1868,[2] "with either Romanism or Ritualism is foolish." "The pure and incorruptible Gospel," said E. H. Bickersteth to the Southport Conference,[3] "will not sound the less sweetly, because the House of God in every part of it, within and without, bears witness to the loving earnest care with which we regard all things connected with His service and worship."

[1] There were only two notable exceptions. In 1848, during the Gorham agitation, Baptist Noel, who had succeeded Wilson at St. John's, Bedford Row, resigned his benefice; for about a year he attended the services at Hornsey Parish Church; in September, 1849, he became a Baptist minister. In 1872 Capel Molyneux, Vicar of St. Paul's, Onslow Square, seceded as a protest against the refusal of the Judicial Committee to condemn the teaching of W. J. E. Bennett on the Holy Communion. He wrote a pamphlet calling on all Evangelicals to follow his example, but only two curates responded to his appeal. On the other hand, between 1840 and 1899, no less than 446 Tractarian clergy joined the Church of Rome. Their names are given in Gorman's *Converts to Rome.*

[2] *Contemporary Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 589.

[3] Paper printed later in his *Evangelical Churchmanship and Evangelical Eclecticism.*

FOR FURTHER STUDY. Church's *Oxford Movement.* Walsh's *History of the Romeward Movement in the Church of England.* Fairbairn's *Catholicism, Roman and Anglican.* Overton's *Anglican Revival.* Rigg's *Oxford High Anglicanism.* Lock's *Life of Keble.* Guiney's *Hurrell Froude.* Newman's *Apologia pro vita sua.* Newman's *Letters*, edited by Mozley. Hutton's *Life of Newman. W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, by his son. Purcell's *Life of Ambrose de Lisle.* Walsh's *Secret History of the Oxford Movement.* Mozley's *Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement.* Palmer's *Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times.* Stephen's *Life and Letters of W. F. Hook.* Liddon's *Life of Pusey.* Bowden's *Life of Faber.* Purcell's *Life of Manning.* Ashwell's *Life of Bishop Wilberforce. Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, edited by his son. Davidson's *Life of Archbishop Tait.* For Gorham Case: *Examination before Admission to a Benefice*, edited by G. C. Gorham. *Gorham v. Bishop of Exeter: Judgement delivered by Sir H. J. Fust. Gorham v. Bishop of Exeter: Full Report of Arguments of Counsel before Judicial Committee. Gorham v. Bishop of Exeter: Judgement of Judicial Committee.* Roberts' *History of the English Church Union.* Russell's *Memoir of Mackonochie.* Dale's *Life of T. Pelham Dale.* Hughes' *Life of Bishop Fraser* (for Miles Platting case and imprisonment of Green). *Charles Lowder*, by the author of *The Life of St. Theresa. Dict. of Nat. Biog.*—Goode, Gorham, the Tractarian and Ritualist leaders.

CHAPTER IX

THE SILVER LINING

"*The Wall shall be built, even in troublous times.*"

1. HOME MISSIONS

IT has been convenient to tell the story of the long controversy by itself, but it must not be imagined that this was ever the chief interest of the party. The place which it occupied in the Church papers was altogether out of proportion to the place which it occupied in the thoughts of most of the Evangelicals. Their chief controversy was still the old one with indifference and sin. For every hour that they might spend in discussing rites and rubrics, they spent weeks in earnest efforts to win the souls of men. The period of conflict was pre-eminently the period of home missions. Even their bitterest enemies had to acknowledge this. In one of the most savage attacks on the party that we have come across, an anonymous article in *Macmillan's Magazine*,[1] the writer is forced to confess: "The party is redeemed by the working of its parishes. That which saves it from wreck is the fact that the

Home Missions.

[1] December, 1860. "The English Evangelical Clergy."

Evangelical clergy as a body are indefatigable in ministerial duties, and devoted heart and soul to the manifold labours of Christian love. It is not necessary to dwell long on the subject; it is patent and easily appreciated. When the history of the Evangelical Party is written, it will be told of them that with narrow-mindedness and mistaken traditions, with little intellectual acquirements and ill-directed zeal against their brothers in the Church, they yet worked manfully in the pestilent and heathen by-ways of our cities, and preached the Gospel to the poor."

The formation of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society (1836) enabled the problem of the slum parishes to be tackled for the first time with some prospect of success. Let us take two illustrations of the work that was going on in them. Whitechapel in 1837 was a very hot-bed of crime and immorality. The dingy old church had no influence whatever on the 36,000 people who were crowded round it. For thirty years the Low Church Rector, who had just died, had unlocked the church door every Sunday morning, read the service and a sermon to the clerk and the charity children, and then gone home to his midday dinner with the comfortable feeling that the week's work was satisfactorily accomplished. He had no curate, did no visiting, and apparently never tried to get in touch with his parishioners. His successor, William Weldon Champneys, was a man of a different school, a staunch and fervent Evangelical, an indefatigable worker, who

Champneys at Whitechapel.

by the charm of his gentle goodness broke down all opposition. He soon gathered round him an active and earnest staff; the parish was visited from door to door; three bright and simple services were held every Sunday, and slowly but steadily the empty pews were filled, till in 1851, when the Church census was taken, it was found that 1547 were present in the morning, 827 in the afternoon, and 1643 in the evening. The communicants, of whom there were sixteen at the end of his first year, had increased by 1854 to more than 350. Three new churches were built, and the parish subdivided. Five Church Day-schools were opened; Sunday-schools followed next; then Mothers' Meetings and a Savings Bank, a Coal Club, a Shoeblack Brigade, and a Young Men's Institute, all common enough nowadays, but the first of their kind in London. In fact Champneys was the pioneer of the modern type of parochial organization.

Cadman at Southwark.

For our other illustration we will cross the river. In 1853 William Cadman went as Rector to St. George's, Southwark. He found himself responsible for 35,000 people, of whom about twenty were accustomed to come to church. Apart from the shops in the main road they were all the poorest of the poor, herded in courts abounding in brothels, thieves' kitchens, and common lodging-houses. Within six months the parish was divided into six districts; in each a curate, a Scripture-reader, and a schoolmaster were at work; and in each a building had been secured

which was used as ragged-school by day and as mission-hall at night. Every evening open-air services were held at a point where six roads met, and here opponents of every kind might state their case and be answered, from militant atheists to the followers of Johanna Southcott; "thieves' suppers" helped many a man back to an honest life, and the lowest dens of infamy were visited from room to room. Before long all this work began to show visible results; the great church became so overcrowded that three hundred additional seats had to be procured; two hundred voluntary workers were enrolled from among the communicants; and St. George's became recognised as a model parish, which other clergy came to visit, when they wished to improve their methods.

But the clergy were not the only mission workers. One special feature of the period was the magnificent work done by Evangelical laymen, not only the paid Scripture-readers, for whom the Church Pastoral-Aid Society had fought so hard a battle, but fine old Anglo-Indian officials, part of the fruit of the seed sown by Simeon's Indian chaplains, Christian officers—the "New Lights," as the army chaffingly called them—and many business and professional men. In the past the layman's work had been to provide the money, and occasionally to serve on a committee; from this time forward he took his share in preaching and teaching too. Pre-eminent among these lay helpers was Stevenson Blackwood, that strong, capable Secretary

The work of laymen.

of the Post Office, who gave the nation sixpenny telegrams and the parcel post. In some dingy mission-room with ten or a dozen slatternly women before him, or facing a large and critical audience from a Church Congress platform, he was equally earnest, equally charming, equally at home. For thirty-seven strenuous years his spare time was spent in unwearying efforts to help the sinful and to rouse the careless. Open-air services at street corners, dinner-hour talks in mills and factories, meetings for railway-men, policemen, postmen, Bible-readings in his own dining-room, coach-house services for the men in the mews, and—a venture far more difficult—mission services for men and women of his own class, no method was left untried, and in his hands no method seemed unsuccessful.

Indeed the whole period was marked by the constant adoption of new methods. If the last chapter may have left the impression that Evangelicals had taken up an attitude of cast-iron conservatism, doggedly resisting any change whether for better or worse, the present chapter should dispel the illusion and show the party, in the words of Bishop Thorold,[1] as "the fruitful and often the audacious parent of admirable innovations." One of these was the great revival of open-air preaching. This had been common enough in the days of Grimshaw and Berridge, but as the Methodists and Evangelicals gradually fell apart, it had been left almost entirely to the Methodist wing. Now, however, the Evangelical clergy began to realise their mistake.

New Methods. (1) Open-air Preaching.

[1] *Second Charge*, 1885.

John Cale Miller, Rector of Birmingham (1846-66),[1] was one of the most remarkable leaders of the time, "a man," said Bishop Thorold,[2] "who to a massive understanding that rapidly absorbed knowledge added a capacity for business that many laymen might envy, and a resoluteness of nature which, while it occasionally thwarted you, it was impossible not to admire. His strong face, his broad shoulders, his ample form, his slow and stately tread were all reproduced in a will that knew no vacillation, and the dignity of a courage which feared neither friend nor foe." Working Men's Clubs, Penny Readings, and Hospital Sunday all owe their origin to him, but his chief claim to be remembered is as the man who revived the practice of open-air preaching. By speeches from C.P.A.S. platforms and by letters to the *Record* he gradually persuaded many of his brethren to follow his example, and by 1860 the practice had become quite general. Bishop Sumner of Winchester had urged his clergy in one of his charges to attempt it;[3] Thomas Richardson was preaching to large congregations from the steps of the Royal Exchange; E. H. Bickersteth was doing the same on Hampstead Heath; the C.P.A.S. Reports were full of examples of this work, including dinner-hour services for colliers at the bottom of the pits, and the Committee declared that "the general testimony is that the experiment has been attended with the happiest results."[4]

[1] Afterwards Vicar of Greenwich, 1866-80.
[2] *Life of Bishop Thorold*, p. 89.
[3] *Charge*, 1854, pp. 21-4.
[4] *Report of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society*, 1857.

Another more daring innovation was that of Evening Communion. This had clearly been the practice in Apostolic times; instances of it could be found all through the first three centuries; there was nothing in any rubric or canon to forbid it; but it was necessarily quite unknown in England, because before the Evangelical revival there were no evening services of any kind whatever. But now that numbers of the poorest class were being added to the Church, men and women whose special time of worship was the evening, the question inevitably arose, if early morning communions are lawful—and Evangelicals had been the first to make these at all common—and if afternoon communions are lawful—and most so-called midday communions take place after noon—can there be anything irregular or even inappropriate in administering the Communion at the very time which our Lord Himself chose? The question was asked in the *Christian Observer* in 1842,[1] but nothing seems to have been done till November, 1851, when a Committee of the Leeds Ruridecanal Chapter, with Dr. Hook, the famous High-Church Vicar, in the chair, issued a Report unanimously recommending Evening Communion as one of the changes in the service desirable in the interests of the poor:—

(z) Evening Communion.

"It has been deeply impressed upon us that the comparative paucity of attenders at the Holy Communion is in a considerable degree due to its celebration at a time when it is most inconvenient to

[1] October, 1842.

the humbler classes; and effectually prevents the attendance of the wives and mothers amongst our poorer brethren. Your committee do not believe that by such an arrangement any rule of the Church whatever would be infringed, whilst it would allow many of the working-classes who are now virtually debarred from that ordinance to approach the Table of the Lord."[1]

The report was adopted after debate by the whole Chapter, and then sent to the Bishop of Ripon for consideration. His reply has not been preserved but it cannot have been unfavourable, for early in 1852 we find Evening Communion begun in several of the Leeds churches, including the Parish Church.[2] Meanwhile in December, 1851, Miller had begun an afternoon administration at St. Martin's, Birmingham, and in the following July he added one in the evening.[3] "The proposed arrangements," he wrote,[4] "have been submitted to the Bishop of Worcester, and have his full sanction, as in no respect violating the order of the Church." The idea was warmly welcomed among Evangelicals. "I consider," said Champneys not long before he left Whitechapel, "that one thing has been a greater blessing than all besides to my

[1] Printed in full in *English Churchman*, December 4, 1851. It is interesting to note that, though this paper was the organ of the extreme Tractarians, the Editor, while criticizing some of the suggestions in the Report, strongly approved of the proposal to begin Evening Communion.

It is often said that Thomas Dale was the first to revive Evening Communion, but he did not begin it at St. Pancras till Easter, 1860.

[3] Letter quoted in Hessey's *Sunday*, note 513.

[4] *A Pastoral Letter to the Parishioners of St. Martin's, Birmingham.*

flock — the commencement of an Evening Communion. It has enabled so many to come to that blessed Ordinance who could never come before."[1] In 1869 there were sixty-five London churches which had adopted it; in 1879 the number had risen to 262; in 1881 Bishop Thorold discovered that of the 291 churches in the Diocese of Rochester exactly a hundred had Evening Communion. By this time it was recognised and expected in every Evangelical parish.

A third happy innovation was the employment of women. About 1857 Mrs. Ranyard, with the help of Anthony Thorold, began to organize her most efficient little band of Bible-women. While visiting in St. Giles, she made the discovery that here and there in the slums women could be found of humble birth but of ripe and tested Christian character, and her idea was to use these women to win their careless neighbours. "Belonging to the class whom she desires to benefit, the Biblewoman is familiar with their habits and understands their feelings. There is nothing in her manner or appearance to alarm their pride or to excite their hopes. They never beg of her and they perceive no unfitness in making her their friend."[2] And, owing to the great care with which she chose her agents, her system spread rapidly in many parts of London, and her help was eagerly welcomed by the Evangelical clergy.

(3) Women Workers. (*a*) Bible Women.

[1] Quoted by Bishop Bickersteth in *Charge Delivered at Primary Visitation.*

[2] *The Missing Link*, by L. N. R., p. 208.

Meanwhile a movement had begun for training women of superior education. In 1860 William Pennefather, Vicar of Christ Church, Barnet, opened a small Deaconess Home for "women desirous of labouring in the Lord's vineyard as Phœbe did of old." A little earlier Pusey had begun to found his Anglican Sisterhoods, but the two experiments were entirely independent. Pusey avowedly took the Roman nun as his model, and based his regulations on those of a French Convent. Pennefather took the primitive deaconess as the type that he wished to revive, and studied closely the work of the Lutheran deaconesses in Prussia. In 1864 Pennefather came to London as Vicar of St. Jude's, Mildmay Park, and here the Home developed into a very large institution. At first some of the elder clergy doubted the wisdom of the step, but the experiment soon justified itself by its success, and the uniform of the Mildmay deaconess became a very familiar sight in Evangelical parishes.

(*b*) Deaconesses.

Another novelty was the holding of services in unconsecrated buildings. Before this was possible however, an alteration had to be made in the law of the land. By the Toleration Act (1812) it was illegal for more than twenty persons to meet for religious worship in any building but a consecrated church or licensed dissenting chapel. For years the committees of the great Societies had not dared to open their meetings in Exeter Hall with prayer; and though this was now done and no one had been prosecuted, yet the

(4) Services in Unconsecrated Buildings.

law was by no means a dead letter. In 1845 the Bishop of Salisbury had prosecuted one of his clergy for "having aided and abetted" a mission service in his schoolroom, and in 1850 a labourer was fined at Malmesbury for having lent his cottage for a cottage meeting.[1] To remedy this Lord Shaftesbury introduced (1855) the Religious Worship Bill. "Unless," he said,[2] "the Church is able to act as a missionary Church, and by the removal of every restriction upon her free actions to compete fairly with all other denominations, my belief is that she will be lost, and that very speedily." In spite of strong opposition from Bishop Wilberforce the Bill was carried, and its first fruit was the Exeter Hall services.

(*a*) Exeter Hall Services.

These were a most successful attempt to reach the non-churchgoer. The service consisted simply of the Litany, three well-known hymns and an evangelistic address: McNeile, Stowell, Cadman, Miller, and all the chief Evangelical preachers gave their help willingly; and every Sunday the great hall was thronged by thousands, who never before had attended any place of worship. Bishop Tait of London was delighted; he described this[3] as "one of the best works that had been undertaken since he entered upon his office." But in the autumn they were inhibited by the Vicar

[1] See examples given by Lord Shaftesbury in the House of Lords, *Hansard*, June 12, 1855.

[2] Speech in House of Lords, *Hansard*, July 6, 1855.

[3] Speech in House of Lords, *Hansard*, December 8, 1857.

of St. Michael's, Burleigh Street, in whose parish the hall happened to stand. In vain the Bishop remonstrated: "It is only in a technical sense that a building like Exeter Hall, intended for the use of London generally, can be held to be included in your parish, and therefore subject to you."[1] In vain Lord Shaftesbury introduced a Bill, that no inhibition should be valid, unless sanctioned by the Bishop. The Vicar stood firm, and the services had to be discontinued, though they were resumed almost at once by Nonconformists.

(*b*) Theatre services.

The next step was to find suitable buildings elsewhere; seven low theatres were rented in the poorest parts of London, and mission-services held there every Sunday evening. Again trouble began. The English Church Union tried to prosecute all the clergy who took part in this "profane and degrading practice," and were only checked by finding that the prosecutor must be the incumbent of one of the parishes in which the theatres stood, and that not one of the incumbents would allow his name to be used. Lord Dungannon rose in the House of Lords "to call attention to the performance of divine service in theatres by clergymen of the Church of England";[2] an attack which led Lord Shaftesbury to reply, as "the only culprit in the House, and one of the principal movers in originating them," in what was probably the most successful and eloquent of all his speeches.[2] But in

[1] Letter quoted in *Life of Tait*, Vol. I, p. 258

[2] *Hansard*, February 24th, 1860.

spite of all opposition the work went steadily on. "It was a strange sight," writes one who was present,[1] "from floor to ceiling the vast house was thronged; in boxes, stalls, pit, and gallery were costermongers, street cadgers, and labourers, women in fluttering rags, many with babies in their arms, boys in shirt sleeves and corduroys, young men and maidens in their gaudy Sunday best. The people listened with extraordinary attention, as if they had never heard of the subject before."

(5) Children's Services.

At this time too the practice began of holding Children's Services. Hitherto the school-children had been crowded into some back gallery, where in too many cases they could neither see nor hear: while even for the more fortunate children, who sat with their parents in the pews, the long Sunday service of that day was terribly wearisome and unintelligible. The Sunday-schools were useful for instruction, but included very little of the element of worship. In 1867, however, an American named Payson Hammond conducted children's missions in various parts of the country, and when Pennefather invited him to Mildmay, the results were so full of promise, that several laymen of the congregation started a Sunday-evening Children's Service in the St. Jude's schools. This again proved so successful that they joined with others to found the Children's Special Service Mission, "to promote the establishment of special Sunday and Week-evening services for the Young." Pennefather was the

[1] *Life of Shaftesbury*, Vol. III, p. 102.

first President, and the services spread to other parts of London and then all over England. These bright and happy hours of worship proved most effective in winning the children of the working classes; but the promoters felt that more than this was needed. "The children of the upper and middle classes are, as regards religious teaching, really far less cared for than the children of the poor."[1] So for their benefit Seaside Services were begun on the sands in well-known watering-places with the most encouraging and far-reaching results. In 1879 the Children's Scripture Union was started. Thomas Richardson, of St. Benet's, Stepney, had begun his Bible and Prayer Union three years earlier, and with the help of the editor of the *Christian* had already enrolled a large number of members; but this was intended for adults; its members read through the whole Bible from cover to cover. If children were to be trained to be diligent and intelligent students of God's Word, shorter portions must be chosen, and ones which they would be likely to understand. This was done with great wisdom by the C.S.S.M. committee, and the success was immediate: 45,000 members were enrolled in the first year. Like most of the institutions that have sprung from Mildmay, the Children's Special Service Mission has always been interdenominational, but the Church owes it a deep debt of gratitude. "Again and again," said one of the examiners of the C.M.S.,[2] "when I have questioned

[1] *Llandudno and the Children's Seaside Services*, p. 5.

[2] Canon Barnes Lawrence, *C.S.S.M. Occasional Paper*, May 15, 1907.

those who have offered their services for some distant field as to how they first came to a knowledge of Christ, I have had the same answer: it was at the Children's Special Service Mission at such and such a place." And the number of home clergy is by no means small who, humanly speaking, owe their usefulness in the Church to-day to the influence that was brought to bear on them by this mission, while they were yet schoolboys. Moreover, it has been immensely valuable as a training-ground for workers. It is quite remarkable to notice in modern missionary biographies how many, like Pilkington of Uganda, gained their first experience of Christian work in the Seaside Services; they began by giving out hymn-books and playing cricket with the boys, and then were led on to give addresses and conduct meetings. For example, seven of the undergraduates who worked in Llandudno in 1885 went out later as C.M.S. Missionaries.

The crowning point of the Evangelistic movement was the Moody Mission of 1875. In the summer of 1873 there arrived in Liverpool two unknown American laymen, whom Pennefather had invited over. Dwight L. Moody had come to preach and Ira D. Sankey to sing. The first, a heavy, middle-aged man, an ex-commercial traveller, with a nasal twang, a harsh voice, and a rasping Chicago accent, had received no theological training, and indeed very little education at all, except the general rough-and-tumble of a Western city. The other sang nothing but simple little hymns,

The Moody Mission.

accompanying himself on a small harmonium. Two men less likely to set the country on fire could hardly be imagined. When they landed, they found that Pennefather had died, and that no arrangements had been made; and after visiting one or two northern towns they made their way into Scotland. Here it was that Moody proved himself the greatest Evangelist since Whitefield. The largest buildings could not hold the crowds that flocked to hear him, and at the close of every meeting hundreds of inquirers stayed for personal instruction. Some, who had heard of American revivals, came expecting to find a frenzied carnival of emotion. They found a Chicago business man, eminently sane and practical, quietly appealing to the common sense of the people before him. The doctrines that he taught were strictly orthodox. His preaching was Biblical and ethical. His appeal was based on the Father's love, not on the fear of Hell. There never was a movement of this kind in which anything approaching hysteria was more sternly suppressed. What then drew the crowds? It is not easy to say. Partly it was Moody's absolute sincerity; he had not a shade of self-conceit, or pretence, or cant. Partly it was his directness; his sermons were racy and unconventional, brimming over with anecdote and homely illustration, but they were always intensely to the point. Once he had sent a congregation away, telling them to take a week to think the matter over. That night came the great Chicago fire, and his hearers were scattered never to meet him again. Henceforth

his message always was "Choose ye *this day* whom ye will serve." And as he spoke of the sins of the people and of the Saviour Christ, the note of certainty and authority rang out loud and clear. He knew that he was speaking the truth, because he had proved it for himself. Sankey's solos helped greatly. A song will often win its way where an argument is powerless. A song will hide away in the memory, when the best of sermons is forgotten. But when we have summed up all—their freshness, their earnestness, their consecrated common sense—the success of their mission still remains a mystery. We can only fall back on the old truth, that God uses the weak things of this world to confound the things that are mighty; as Dr. Dale of Birmingham said: "The work was most plainly of God, for I could see no real relation between the men and what they have done."[1]

After Scotland they went to Ireland, and here they first gained the co-operation of the clergy; three Irish bishops spoke most warmly of their work, and when they returned to England in November, 1874, they found most of the Evangelicals ready to give them a hearty welcome. In Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, and Liverpool the Scotch triumphs were repeated, and then in March, 1875, the Evangelists came to London. R. C. Billing, afterwards Bishop of Bedford, was the chairman of the North London committee, and much of the success of the mission was due to his strenuous work. Joseph Bardsley, Rector of Stepney, was chairman in the East End

[1] *Congregationalist*, March, 1875.

The largest halls in the city were taken, including the Agricultural Hall, and yet overflow meetings had continually to be held. Probably half a million people heard the Gospel preached; thousands were personally dealt with in the inquiry-rooms. What was the result? Hundreds of men and women were thoroughly converted to God who before had been leading careless, colourless lives, and though a considerable number joined dissenting bodies, many threw themselves heart and soul into the life and work of the Evangelical parishes. And in hundreds, who were already Christians, a new zeal was kindled. They were lifted to a clearer consciousness of their Christianity. Their eyes were opened to the great reality of the facts of repentance and conversion. They had seen how souls could be won, and were all on fire to take their share in the battle, and the clergy found ready to hand numbers of lay workers eager to be employed in the open air or the mission service. Two great organizations also owe their origin to this mission. It was Moody who suggested to William Hay Aitken that he should resign his Liverpool parish and give himself to the life of an evangelist, a suggestion which led to the formation of the Church Parochial Mission Society; and the Agricultural Hall services were the means of bringing out a young layman named Wilson Carlile, who first helped as deputy organist, and then was set to work to speak at overflow meetings; and from that beginning sprang in the fulness of time the Church Army.

This mission also did much to bring Evangelical

Churchmen and Nonconformists into more friendly relations. The Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society had done something in this direction, but when Edward Bickersteth in 1845 had formed the Evangelical Alliance "to exhibit as far as practicable the essential unity of the Church of Christ, and to cherish and manifest in its various branches the spirit of brotherly love," the great majority of his brethren had stood stiffly aloof, and very severe things had been said in the *Christian Observer* about those who were willing "to fraternize with Anabaptists."[1] Now, however, the visit of this breezy layman from America helped Churchmen and Nonconformists to see how much they had in common, and how much unity was needed among the Christian forces in a land where irreligion was winning so many victories. Henceforth an increasing number of Evangelicals began to feel that to decline to have any dealings with devout and orthodox fellow-Christians, because of differences of opinion about matters of Church government, was to be guilty of something very like the sin of schism; and in many interdenominational evangelistic efforts, such as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Navvy Mission, the Railway Mission, and the Christian Police Association, Evangelicals and Nonconformists have worked harmoniously together.

Co-operation with Nonconformists.

[1] See articles, December, 1845; January, 1846.

2. WORK OUTSIDE ENGLAND

The Foreign Field.

Let us turn now from the work at home to look at the work abroad. In 1841 Henry Venn, a son of John Venn of Clapham, had begun his long reign at Salisbury Square. The wisest and most benevolent of autocrats, for more than thirty years (1841–72) he occupied a unique position as Honorary Secretary and virtual Director of the policy of the C.M.S. In November, 1848, in the midst of the Gorham agitation, the members of the Society met to keep their Jubilee. As they surveyed the foreign field they saw much cause for gratitude; 172 European missionaries were at work and 1300 native teachers, of whom twelve were ordained. In the three oldest missions great progress had been made. In Sierra Leone there had grown up a strong Evangelical Church with two thousand communicants and ten thousand adherents, a training college for native clergy, and more than fifty schools. In New Zealand, after waiting eleven years for the baptism of the first convert, almost all the Maori tribes had now turned to God; the two islands were safe and civilised, and colonists were beginning to pour in. In India a flourishing Church had been formed in Tinnevelly in the south, with 24,000 native converts tested by constant persecution, many villages being wholly Christian, with their own churches and schools; in the north the chain of C.M.S. stations stretched three-quarters of the way along the frontier; in the west a beginning had been made in Bombay; and in

Ceylon thirteen missionaries were at work. Fresh ground was being broken in different parts of the world. On the Red River in North-West America and in British Guiana devoted men were winning the confidence of the Red Indian tribes. Two intrepid pioneers on the East Coast of Africa were discovering fresh countries and reducing new languages to writing. Half a dozen picked men had at last gained a footing in China. A thousand miles below Sierra Leone a promising mission had been opened among the Yoruba people. Amid all the exciting controversies at home and the needs of their own parishes, the Evangelicals had not forgotten their Master's last command, but had kept steadily before them the ideal of "all the world."

Work among Jews.

Ten years later the Jews' Society also kept its Jubilee. In 1811 a young barrister named Lewis Way had been riding from Exmouth to Exeter, when a companion pointed out a noble group of oaks, and told him—what proved after all to be but an old wife's fable—that a former owner had given orders in her will that they should not be cut down, until the Jews had been restored to Palestine. The idea struck him as so quaint, that he searched his Bible to find if there was any ground for believing that the Jews would ever be restored, with the result that he found far more than he expected, and became intensely interested in all things Jewish. On returning to London he discovered the existence of the Jews' Society, and soon became the leading spirit on its committee. His energy and generosity were alike

boundless. He gave £3000, and then £10,000, to get the Society out of debt. He travelled from one end of Europe to the other on the Society's business. He interviewed the Crown Prince of Prussia and fascinated the Czar; and it was chiefly owing to his efforts that its Jubilee found the Society in so strong a position. In addition to the work in London and in English seaports, its missionaries were busy in all the chief ghettos of France and Germany, in Holland, in Italy, in Roumania, in the Jewish quarters of Mohammedan cities like Cairo and Constantinople, even in Algeria and in Baghdad. But the most interesting of all its missions was that in Jerusalem. Founded in 1822 by that matchless pioneer missionary Joseph Wolff, followed up by one of the first of medical missions, in spite of bitter persecution converts had been gathered in, and in 1840 the foundations of Christ Church had been laid, the Hebrew Christian Church which was to stand on Mount Zion.

As early as 1838 Lord Ashley had written in his diary, "Could we not erect a Protestant Bishopric at Jerusalem?"[1]; but the actual proposal came from quite an unexpected source. In 1841 the King of Prussia sent the Chevalier Bunsen to England to sound the authorities of Church and State on this very matter. "The King," so ran Bunsen's instructions,[2] "has from early

The Jerusalem Bishopric.

[1] *Life*, Vol. I, p. 235.

[2] The document is printed in full in German and English in Hechler's *Jerusalem Bishopric*.

youth cherished the idea of amending the condition of Christians in the Holy Land, where the condition of all Christians is ignominious, and that of Protestants doubly so. . . . Protestant Christianity can entertain no hope of recognition in the East unless it exhibits itself as a united body. The Government have been accustomed in all ages to see those who acknowledge themselves to be co-religionists act together as one body subject to uniform discipline. If, therefore, Protestant Christendom were to insist on being recognised under all its separate denominations, the Turkish Government would undoubtedly hesitate to grant such recognition." His proposal was that the English Church should appoint a Bishop at Jerusalem to superintend the German congregations as well as the English missions; he offered £15,000 towards the endowment of the See, and suggested that the Bishop should be nominated alternately by the Crowns of England and Prussia, the Archbishop of Canterbury having power to veto any of the Prussian nominees; all Lutheran ministers in charge of congregations in Palestine would then be ordained by the Bishop after signing the Thirty-nine Articles. The Evangelicals took up the scheme with enthusiasm. Lord Ashley used his influence with the Government to gain its consent. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London warmly welcomed the proposal. Broad-minded High Churchmen like Bishop Wilberforce and Gladstone favoured it, hoping, as probably the King himself did, that it would lead to the introduction of episcopacy into Prussia. Dr.

Hook subscribed to the fund, and wrote a pamphlet[1] defending it. But the Tractarians were furious, not only because there was already an Oriental Bishop of Jerusalem, though Pusey himself pointed out that the rule of antiquity allowed people who spoke different languages each to have a Bishop of their own, though living side by side, but also because the scheme involved the recognition of Prussian Protestants as fellow-Christians, whereas the Tractarians regarded them as excommunicate heretics.[2] Newman sent a strong protest to the Archbishop, and, when the scheme was adopted, declared that this was the blow which finally shattered his faith in the Anglican Church.[3] In September, 1841, the Bill passed through Parliament, and in November Michael Solomon Alexander, a Jew by race, a Prussian by birth, and for many years a devout and learned clergyman of the Church of England, was consecrated at Lambeth as Bishop of Jerusalem. On his death in 1845, the King of Prussia nominated Samuel Gobat as his successor, a Swiss, who had been trained at Islington College, and had served as a C.M.S. missionary in Syria and Egypt. He was still Bishop at the time of the Society's jubilee.

During the period we are now studying, four new

[1] *Reasons for Contributing towards the Support of an English Bishop at Jerusalem.*

[2] Cf. Newman's *Protest to Bishop of Oxford* (*Letters, II*, 362): "Lutheranism and Calvinism are heresies anathematised by East as well as West." Pusey's letter (*Life, II*, 253): "I wrote urging the danger of any negotiations with heretical sects in Prussia."

[3] *Apologia*, chap. III.

Missionary Societies were started, one of which had the most tragic birth in the history of modern missions. The life of its founder, Allen Gardiner, was apparently a record of unbroken failure. By his wife's death-bed he had consecrated his life to pioneer missionary work, and had opened a mission in Zululand, but the outbreak of war between the Zulus and Boers made it impossible for a white man to live among the natives. His thoughts then turned to the neglected continent of South America, where the heathen Indians still formed a majority of the population, and where no missionaries were at work, except in British Guiana. He tried Chili, but he could not overcome the suspicions of the chiefs; they would not allow him to live among them or to learn the language. He tried Patagonia, and here at first the position seemed hopeful; some of the natives appeared to welcome the idea of a mission, and Gardiner hurried back to England to obtain helpers. When the C.M.S. decided that they could not undertake this work, Gardiner urged his friends in Brighton to form a new society, which they did (1844), calling it the Missionary Association for Patagonia, and later, when the work extended, the South American Missionary Society. He returned to Patagonia with one layman as catechist, but again disappointment awaited him. The friendly chief had changed his mind, the natives were sullen and hostile, no provisions could be obtained, and at last he was forced to leave the country. Next he tried Bolivia, but

New Societies. (1) South American Missionary Society.

without success; and then he turned to Tierra del Fuégo, that desolate archipelago which forms the southernmost point of America, one of the bleakest and most tempestuous regions in the world. Here he and his six companions were starved to death. The natives would not feed them; the drifting ice broke their nets so that they could not fish; the boat that was bringing fresh supplies did not arrive in time; when their stores were exhausted, they lived on limpets until the end came, and here in 1851 Allen Gardiner died, after seventeen years of hard and heroic missionary work, without having seen a single convert or any fruit from his labours. But his death succeeded where his passionate appeals had failed. The Church at home was stirred to take an interest in South America. A mission schooner was fitted out and called by his name. But the tragedy was not yet complete. In 1859 the mission was almost wiped out by the murder of eight of its workers by the natives. It was not till 1863 that real progress began, when Waite Hockin Stirling, the young clergyman who later became first Bishop of the Falkland Islands, arrived as superintendent. How genuine that progress was, so keen and critical an observer as Charles Darwin has testified. He had visited the islands before the missionaries came, and described the people as the most degraded beings in the world, a race which had never learnt to cultivate the soil, or, in spite of the severity of the climate, to make any clothes, or to devise the simplest form of tribal government. But in 1870 he wrote: "The

success of the Tierra del Fuégo mission is most wonderful, and charms me, as I always prophesied utter failure. It is a grand success. I shall feel proud if your Committee think fit to elect me a member of your Society,"[1] and he subscribed to the work from that day till his death. Gradually the Society extended its stations to other parts of the Continent; missionaries were sent to the Indian tribes in Chili, and Paraguay, and Brazil; chaplains were appointed to care for the numerous English residents; evangelistic work was begun among the degraded white population; while at home the Society confronted the Church with a riddle which no man could answer: "Did not our Lord say *all* the world? Then why not South America?"

(2) Irish Church Missions.

The second new Society was that for Irish Church Missions. The condition of the Established Church in Ireland was highly unsatisfactory. Most of the clergy were content to act as chaplains to the English "garrison," leaving all the peasantry to the Romanists, who in many places had allowed them to lapse almost into barbarism. In 1840 Alexander Dallas, Rector of Wonston, near Winchester, went to Dublin as a deputation for the Jews' Society, and he was soon struck by this strange anomaly, a Church which claimed to be the Church of the country, and yet was making no effort to touch nine-tenths of its parishioners. A few experiments satisfied him that mission work was possible, and in 1847, when the famine had turned the eyes of

[1] Sulivan's Letter to *Daily News*, April 25, 1885.

all England towards Ireland, he began to collect money to send Scripture-readers among the people. Their work was so successful, that in 1849 he called a meeting in London, which decided to form a Society for Irish Church Missions. The Bishop of Cashel and the Bishop of Tuam gave their support; 200 of the Irish clergy signed a letter welcoming the effort; and before long twelve clergy and eighty-three laymen had begun to teach and visit. Their success at first was marvellous. "Within one year," wrote Bishop Bickersteth,[1] "from the commencement of the work 401 converts came forward to receive at the hands of the Bishop of Tuam the rite of Confirmation; to a man have these converts remained staunch to their profession, and forty-six have died rejoicing in Christ Jesus. In September last the Bishop of Tuam again held a tour of Confirmations, when 712 converts publicly avowed their adhesion to the Protestant faith. In one union of parishes in West Galway, where in 1840 there were not 500 Protestants, there are now between 5000 and 6000 converts, and 3500 children in daily attendance at the mission schools." "There can be no longer any question," wrote the Romanist Archbishop in 1854,[2] "that the systematized proselytism has met with immense success in Connaught and Kerry. It is true that the altars of the Catholic Church have been deserted by thousands." If all the clergy had

[1] Quoted in *Life*, p. 52.

[2] Synodical Pastoral quoted in *Story of Irish Church Missions*, p. 136.

been fired with Dallas' missionary zeal, the disestablishment question in Ireland would soon have assumed a very different aspect.

(3) Missions to Seamen.

A third Society, the Missions to Seamen, was started in 1856, to take up and extend the work of a local mission which was supporting a chaplain for sailors in the Bristol Channel. Its founder was W. H. G. Kingston, whose sea stories every schoolboy has delighted in, and Lord Shaftesbury was its first President. In a short time it had Chaplains or Scripture-readers at work in the Mersey, the Tyne, and the Southampton Water, befriending that great section of the community who go down to the sea in ships, for whom the Church up to this time had done practically nothing.

(4) Zenana Societies.

In 1852 the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society was founded. It was felt that Indian women could only be reached by women missionaries, and as the C.M.S. Committee did not yet see their way to adopt this policy, it was necessary to form this new Society for the purpose. In theory it was interdenominational, its idea being to work in all parts of India as the handmaid of whatever Society happened to be established there, for there were many districts in which there was no Church mission ; but in practice it was almost entirely a Church of England Society ; its two secretaries were both members of the C.M.S. Committee ; in India the C.M.S. secretaries were its local secretaries also, and nearly all its ladies were working with C.M.S. missions. In 1880 some of the

Committee wished to emphasize the interdenominational basis by appointing a Presbyterian secretary for work in Scotland, but to this most of the Church-women felt that they could not agree. The result was that the old Society was divided into two, the undenominational Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society.

3. EVANGELICALS AND THE CHURCH

We have seen the Evangelicals in controversy with their opponents. We have seen something of their mission work at home and abroad. We must now look at their relation to the Church as a whole. From one point of view their position was stronger than it ever had been before. In 1855 Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister. At first this did not seem to be a matter for rejoicing. "I fear," wrote Lord Shaftesbury,[1] "his ecclesiastical appointments will be detestable. He does not know, in theology, Moses from Sydney Smith." But Palmerston was wise enough to know the limits of his own knowledge. He knew too that his relative Lord Shaftesbury was an expert in things ecclesiastical; and so he constantly turned to him for advice on this subject, and for nine years Lord Shaftesbury was known as "the Bishop-maker." The result was a drastic change in the methods of selection. Hitherto, with one or two notable exceptions, appointments had been made on

The Palmerston Bishops.

[1] Letter printed in *Life*, Vol. II, p. 505.

the theory that the Church was a branch of the Civil Service. The Episcopal Bench had been to successive Prime Ministers one of their most important sources of patronage, and bishoprics had been distributed among members of the governing families, largely with the hope of winning votes in the House of Lords. Even Ryder and Sumner mainly owed their sees to the fact that one was a brother of the Earl of Harrowby and the other an intimate personal friend of the King. Shaftesbury was the first to break down this iniquitous system, and to choose men entirely on religious, instead of on political grounds. The list of his nominations is interesting:—

C. T. Longley. Durham, 1856; York, 1860; Canterbury, 1862.
A. C. Tait. London, 1856.
C. T. Baring. Gloucester, 1856; Durham, 1861.
R. Bickersteth. Ripon, 1856.
H. M. Villiers. Carlisle, 1856; Durham, 1860.
J. T. Pelham. Norwich, 1857.
S. Waldegrave. Carlisle, 1860.
J. C. Wigram. Rochester, 1860.
H. Philpott. Worcester, 1860.
W. Thomson. Gloucester, 1861; York, 1862.
C. J. Ellicott. Gloucester, 1863.
E. Harold Browne. Ely, 1864.
F. Jeune. Peterborough, 1864.
W. Jacobson. Chester, 1865.

Two very curious myths have sprung up on this subject. One is that Lord Shaftesbury selected

ignorant nonentities; the *Saturday Review*[1] even suggested that they could not read Greek. The assertion becomes simply amazing when the list is examined. Longley had been Headmaster of Harrow, and Tait Headmaster of Rugby. Philpott was Master of St. Catherine's, Cambridge; Thomson was Provost of Queen's, Oxford; Jeune was Master of Pembroke. Ellicott was Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Browne was Norrisian Professor, Jacobson was Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. Baring and Waldegrave were Oxford double-firsts, and the latter was Fellow of All Souls'. Wigram as Secretary of the National Society had done a great work for elementary education. The other three had been Rectors of some of the largest parishes in London. Whatever else might be said about them, these men could hardly be considered ignoramuses.

The other myth is that they were all Evangelicals. This also is quite untrue. Ellicott and Jacobson were distinctly High Churchmen, though of the older school. Tait and Philpott were quite as definitely Broad Churchmen. Longley, Thomson, and Harold Browne were non-party men, certainly not in the least identified with the Evangelicals. Every party was represented, except the party of the Tracts, and they were necessarily excluded; for so unpopular were they at this time both with the Queen and the country, that no Government, however strong, would have dared to make Pusey a Bishop. If the remaining seven Sees fell to Evan-

[1] e.g. August 17, 1861.

gelicals, this was undoubtedly fair, when their strength in the country was considered, and the way in which they had been neglected in the past.

Moreover, no one can deny that they made good Bishops. Robert Bickersteth had won his laurels in the home mission-field as Rector of St. Giles', the largest and most degraded parish in London. He carried the same spirit into his new sphere, and as Bishop became the Chief Evangelist of his diocese. He took as his motto one of the decrees of the Council of Trent: *Prædicatio evangelii præcipuum munus episcoporum.*[1] When the churches were too small to hold the dalesmen who flocked to hear him, he did as the old Evangelicals did—preached in the churchyard. He preached to colliers at the pit mouth, to navvies at the waterworks; there was not a factory in Leeds in which he had not spoken in the dinner-hour. And he tried to kindle the same spirit in his clergy also. "It may be you have a crowded congregation," he said in his first Charge, "but bear in mind the yet unfolded sheep. Adapt your ministrations to meet their special needs. Multiply services on their behalf. Preach, if necessary, in the open air. Establish mission-rooms for them, till you render it impossible for any member of your flock to say, No man careth for my soul."[2]

In the neighbouring diocese of Durham, where the Church had utterly failed to keep pace with the population, Bishop Baring was the first to make

[1] The preaching of the Gospel is a Bishop's foremost duty.

[2] Quoted in *Life*, p. 246.

the parochial machinery efficient. Through his efforts 119 new churches were built, 130 existing churches were enlarged, 102 new parishes formed, and the number of clergy increased by 189. For years he devoted the whole income of his See to this work. The other Evangelical Bishops were equally efficient, and with men like this on the bench Evangelicalism began to gain a new position in the Church. No Bishop since "Henry of Exeter" has tried to stamp it out. The highest of High Churchmen has always at least acknowledged its right to exist.

Apart from the ritual controversy, the revival of the corporate life of the Church was the chief question in ecclesiastical politics. Convocation had not been allowed to transact any business, since Walpole prorogued it in 1717 to prevent it from censuring the sermons of Bishop Hoadley. It had not been abolished. It was always formally summoned at the opening of Parliament. "A few clergymen, chosen they knew not how, met two or three Bishops, they knew not why, and presented an address to the Crown, for what purpose they could not tell," and then were dismissed. The Evangelicals had been the first to agitate for a revival of its powers. John Kempthorne, Bishop Ryder's examining Chaplain, and C.M.S. secretary for Leicestershire, had published in 1835 a book[1] upon the subject. In 1837 the *Record* was able to state:[2] "Our readers are aware how frequently we have spoken of

Convocation.

[1] *The Church's Self-regulating Privilege.*

[2] Leading article, March 30, 1837.

the anomalous position of the Establishment, deprived of its Convocation, deprived thus of a centre of strength and head of operation." Close of Cheltenham had been one of its strongest advocates. But in 1850 the movement was taken up by the Oxford Party with the avowed intention of obtaining an assembly that could reverse the Gorham judgement. What should the Evangelicals have done? Convocation was a body in which the laity and the unbeneficed clergy had no voice at all, and in which the beneficed clergy had but little power. In the Southern Province, for example, the Upper House consisted of Bishops only, the Lower House of ninety-nine representatives of the Cathedral Chapters and only forty-four of the parochial Clergy. Who can blame the Evangelicals, if they feared to trust the decision of the burning questions of the day to an assembly constituted in this curious manner? The majority felt that they must oppose the scheme they had previously supported. Events proved that they were wrong. Their opposition did not prevent the revival of Convocation, and, when it met, it did not adopt any strongly partisan policy. But their claim was a perfectly reasonable one, that Convocation must be reformed, before it can be allowed to speak in the name of the Church.

Another hotly debated question was the attitude of the party towards the Church Congress, which was started as a quite unofficial gathering in 1861. The promoters tried to be fair; at each meeting representative Evangelicals were in-

Church Congress.

vited to speak; but for various reasons most of them held aloof. Some felt that they could not appear side by side with men many of whom they honestly believed to be secret agents of Rome. Others, when they did go, were unable to gain a hearing. Stowell was howled down in his own city by rows of Ritualist curates. Nor did the Evangelicals in the audience feel more comfortable; the Ritualist speakers were often in their most audacious mood; and it seemed like treason to sit and listen to some of the things that were spoken. One cannot wonder that many clergy preferred to remain in their parishes; and yet they were mistaken. This policy of abstention gave the man in the street the idea that the Evangelical party no longer existed. Even the *Times* casually remarked in the course of a leading article that there were few Evangelicals left in the Church of England. "To men of the present generation the Evangelical party, once so powerful and triumphant, must wear somewhat of the aspect of one of those seaports from which the sea has long since ebbed away. Its mouldering buildings and forsaken quays still attest its former importance and its lost place in the world, but the life and commerce of modern times now sweep past to newer havens, and it remains a goodly but decaying monument of past activity and forgotten warfare."[1] And this was written at a time when there were certainly more Evangelicals in England than at any previous period!

[1] Leading article on death of McNeile, January 31, 1879.

The man who brought his party round to a wiser policy was John Charles Ryle, Vicar of Stradbroke, Suffolk. Hitherto he had been chiefly known as "the Prince of Tract-writers." More than a hundred of his little booklets, with their terse, vivid style and their brief, arresting titles—"Are you free?" "Are you happy?" "Do you ever think?" "Do you want a friend?"—had gained an unprecedented circulation. In 1866 he first appeared on a Congress platform, and at once proved himself to be a born debater. Quick, incisive, good-humoured, never at a loss, he soon became one of the most popular of the Congress speakers. Canon Hoare and Canon Garbett came to back him up, and the great audiences began to realise that there was an Evangelical point of view that deserved consideration. The next step was to persuade their brethren to follow their example. This was no easy task. The *Rock*, a penny paper started in 1868 as the organ of the ultra-militant section of the party, denounced "the three Canons" in number after number, and even invented for their benefit the ugly word Neo-Evangelical. But Ryle stuck to his guns. He wrote and circulated a tract, "Shall we go?" He even brought the matter up at the Church Association Conference. He caused a special Conference to be called in 1869, and here at last he succeeded in carrying his point; from that time onward, though some still held aloof, there has always been a fair attendance of Evangelicals at every Congress.

But still it remained a distinct source of weakness

that most Evangelicals preferred their own private conferences. Such, for example, were the meetings of the Clerical and Lay Associations. The earliest of these was formed at Gloucester for the West of England (1858). Then one for the Midland Counties sprang up at Derby (1859). This was followed by Harford Battersby's Evangelical Union for the Diocese of Carlisle (1859), the Middlesex, Hertford, and Essex Clerical and Lay Association (1861), the Eastern District Association (1862), the East Lincoln Association (1866). Later, Associations were formed for the North-Western District, Devon and Cornwall, Tunbridge Wells, Surrey, and the Northern Home Counties, each holding an annual Conference at which the Evangelicals of the neighbourhood might meet and take counsel together, and each fulfilling very useful functions; yet on the whole they were poor substitutes for the bolder policy of regularly taking part in all ruridecanal and diocesan and general Church gatherings. "These things ought ye to have done," said Ryle, "and not to have left the others undone."

Clerical and Lay Associations.

The largest and most influential conference was the Islington Clerical Meeting. In 1827 the elder Daniel Wilson invited twelve friends to his study to discuss the subject of Prayer with special reference to the Bible Society controversy and the danger of a European war, and so helpful did they find the meeting that it became an annual event. He was succeeded as Vicar of Islington (1832) by his son Daniel Wilson the younger,

Islington Meeting.

who soon became a leader among the London Evangelicals. A brusque, honest, and outspoken man with no powers of oratory, no deep learning, and no gift of personal magnetism, he yet possessed a rugged common sense that always went straight to the heart of a matter, and a resolute and immovable belief that the doctrines of the Reformation contained all that was necessary for the present and future well-being of man. Under his leadership the January meeting steadily grew in influence; in 1855 it had to be transferred to the hall of the C.M.S. College; in 1860 it was moved to the new Wilson Memorial Hall; and towards the end of his life there were always more than three hundred clergy present. It is instructive to look at some of the subjects debated in the 'sixties and 'seventies: "In what manner is the promised presence of Christ in His Church fulfilled in the present dispensation?"; "The validity of the ministry with reference to the theories of the Plymouth Brethren"; "What is the teaching of the Church of England on the subject of the Atonement?"; "Is the Church of England duly fulfilling her office as a Missionary Church?"; "What rules are to be adopted in interpreting the prophetic Scriptures?"; "The teaching of Scripture on the nature and development of true holiness"; "The place of Sacraments in the Christian system." This list shows the problems that were uppermost in the mind of the party, and when we compare it with the debates in the early Congresses on Church Music, Church Architecture, Church Patronage,

Church Finance, the Position of Curates, the Work of Cathedrals, the Court of Final Appeal, we see another reason why Evangelicals preferred their own gathering. They were far more interested in spiritual than in ecclesiastical problems.

Higher religious education was another question which the Church was facing seriously at this time, and here also the Evangelicals were not inactive. In 1860 T. P. Boultbee, Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, read a paper before the Western Clerical and Lay Association, calling attention to the urgent need for an Evangelical Theological College. Among his hearers was a man of princely generosity, Alfred Peache, Incumbent of Mangotsfield; he intimated in a private way that he would find the money, and in 1863 the London College of Divinity was opened with Boultbee as first Principal. Later, during the discussion caused by the slashing attack on Christianity of a book called *Supernatural Religion*, a fund was raised to found colleges at the Universities, and Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, was opened in 1877, and Ridley Hall, Cambridge, in 1881. Meanwhile the Clerical and Lay Associations were founding public schools in which the tone and teaching should be thoroughly Evangelical. Trent College, Derbyshire, sprang (1866) from a paper read before the Midland Association; the South Eastern Association founded (1879), and for a time controlled, the South Eastern College,[1] Ramsgate, and later

Schools and Colleges.

[1] Now St. Lawrence College.

(1886) the Western Association founded the Dean Close Memorial School at Cheltenham.

If we take a general survey of the position at the close of the 'seventies it becomes quite manifest that though the Evangelicals were no longer on the crest of the wave, though they had but little influence in ecclesiastical councils, though they had been utterly out-manœuvred in controversy with their opponents, their strength in the parishes was greater than ever before, and their wisest leaders were looking forward with boundless hope towards the future. "In 1822," wrote Dean Close in 1879,[1] "when I was a curate, there were not above a dozen clergymen in London who would own to the name of Evangelical, and for years subsequently there was no such thing as an Evangelical Party, because there were not enough men to form a party. Our great Evangelical Societies were in their infancy. The principles were sown, and were growing, but the harvest was not yet. . . . Clergymen not ashamed to call themselves Evangelical may now be counted by hundreds. The money raised by those missionary societies exceeds by far all that is raised by other schools of thought." "No doubt," wrote Ryle,[2] "the faults and infirmities of the Evangelical body are not a few, and it does not need a Solomon to discern them. No doubt we are only a minority in the Church of England. We never were anything else, and probably never shall

[1] *Times*, February 6, 1879.

[2] Article in first number of *The Churchman*, a magazine which, in January, 1880, took the place of *The Christian Observer*.

be. But a calm review of our position in 1879 affords strong reasons for thankfulness and encouragement. The Evangelical Party with all its faults shows no symptom of decay. We shall live and not die, if we are only true to our old principles, if we will only work and watch and pray and read and understand the times."

FOR FURTHER STUDY. Stock's *History of the C.M.S.* Davidson's *Life of Archbishop Tait.* Moule's *Evangelical School in the Church of England.* Hodder's *Life of Shaftesbury.* Shelford's *Memorial of Canon Cadman. Records of the Life of Stevenson Blackwood*, edited by his widow. Braithwaite's *Life of Pennefather.* Richardson's *Forty Years' Ministry in East London.* Hughes Games' *Evening Communion. The Missing Link*, by L. N. R. (Mrs. Ranyard). *Life of Moody*, by his son. Knight's *Missionary Secretariat of Hy. Venn.* Childe's *Finished Course* (Early Sierra Leone Missionaries). Coleman's *Life of R. Davis* (New Zealand Mission). *Life of R. T. Noble*, by his brother (Telugu Mission). Fox's *Life of H. W. Fox* (India). Christopher's *Life of Weitbrecht* (India). *Travels and Adventures of Dr. Joseph Wolff* (Jewish Missions). H. Smith's *Protestant Bishopric in Jerusalem.* Hechler's *Jerusalem Bishopric.* De le Roi's *Michael Solomon Alexander, der erste evangelishe Bischof in Jerusalem. Life of Samuel Gobat, Bishop of Jerusalem.* Marsh's *Story of Commander Allen Gardiner.* Young's *From Cape Horn to Panama* (South American Mission). *The Story of Irish Church Missions*, by four members of the English Church. *Life of Dallas*, by his widow. *Life of Bishop Bickersteth*, by his son. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*—Alexander, Baring, Bickersteth, Champneys, Dallas, Garbett, Gardiner, Jeune, Miller, Pelham, Pennefather, Ranyard, Ryle, Venn, Villiers, Waldegrave, Wigram.

CHAPTER X

THE CLOSE OF THE CENTURY

"*In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength.*"

THERE is nothing more difficult to write than contemporary history. The picture is apt to get out of proportion for lack of a proper perspective. As we reach the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, it will be enough if we can sketch a few of the leading men and a few of the most important movements.

Leadership is not a matter of appointment or election. It belongs by divine right to the strongest personality, and therefore it fell inevitably to Canon Ryle. Grave, dignified, of magnificent presence, literally standing head and shoulders above all his fellows, an athlete who had captained his eleven both at Eton and Oxford, a scholar who had carried off the most coveted University honours, a Christian whose simple faith was never damped by doubt, a writer whose tracts were circulating in every corner of the English-speaking world,[1] honest, fear-

Bishop Ryle.

[1] In 1897 it was stated that more than twelve million copies of his tracts had been sold, and, in addition to this, many had been translated into Welsh, French, German, Dutch, Portuguese, Italian, Russian, Hindustani, Chinese, Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish. At the

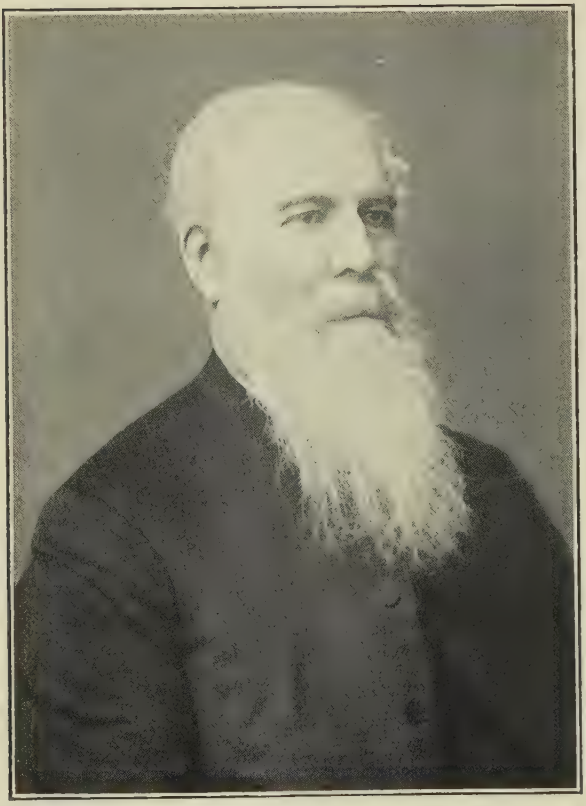


Photo : Russell & Sons

JOHN CHARLES RYLE
BISHOP OF LIVERPOOL

less and outspoken, a leader who was never afraid to face all the facts, "a man of granite with the heart of a little child,"[1] he was recognised by friend and foe as the chief representative of his party. In 1880 he became first Bishop of Liverpool. "You know my opinions," he said to his new diocese, "I am a committed man. I come among you a Protestant and Evangelical: but I come with a desire to hold out the right hand to all loyal Churchmen, holding at the same time my own opinions determinedly."[2] He never tried to disguise his own decided views: as he told one of his Diocesan Conferences, he had no love for "men who had no distinct opinions, theological jelly-fish without bones, brains, teeth, or claws": but he always tried to be scrupulously fair to each of the three historic parties in the Church. "In a fallen world like ours," he said,[3] "and in a free country it is vain to expect all men to see all things alike: but so long as a brother walks loyally within the limits of the Articles and Prayer Book, let us respect him and treat him courteously, even when we do not agree with him. I entreat every clergyman in my diocese,

Swansea Church Congress Canon Knox-Little declared that his first serious thoughts about religion had been derived from reading one of Ryle's tracts. Ruskin wrote (Letter quoted in *The Churchman*, July, 1900): "The pleasantest and most useful reading I know on nearly all religious questions whatever are Ryle's tracts."

[1] Bishop Chavasse's tribute. *Liverpool Courier*, June 1, 1900.

[2] Speech to Bishopric Committee, reported in *Guardian*, April 28, 1880.

[3] Pastoral Address, printed in *Liverpool Diocesan Calendar*, 1881, p. 109.

for Christ's sake, to abhor and avoid all needless divisions, and to follow after peace as well as truth."

His work as Bishop was bitterly maligned by all the Ritualist organs, but it was really a very great success. When he arrived, there was no diocesan machinery of any kind. Everything had to be built up from the beginning. When he resigned in 1900, he left behind him one of the best-organized dioceses in England. His Sustentation Fund had raised the value of every poor benefice to £250 a year. His Pension Fund had made it possible for every aged clergyman to retire as soon as his work was done. The very point for which he was most reviled by outsiders, his deliberate postponement of the cathedral scheme, was only another example of his sturdy common sense, for he was able to provide instead ninety additional places of worship and 136 additional clergy. To the Evangelical Party as a whole his work was invaluable. His mere presence on the Bench gave the timid a sense of security. His tracts were carrying their distinctive doctrines into thousands of homes. His letters to the *Record*, signed "An Old Soldier," or "A Northern Churchman," were eagerly waited for in every hour of crisis. He was trusted by all, and when he declared the position not yet desperate, even the men who were most troubled about the growth of Ritualism returned to their work with fresh hope and courage.

In 1877 Anthony Wilson Thorold had become

Bishop of Rochester, to which diocese all South London had just been handed over. A man of fervent piety and infectious faith, of quiet courage and positive genius for methodical organization, in spite of certain pompous little peculiarities, he had done great work at St. Giles' and later at St. Pancras', and now was doing even greater as ruler of "the Cinderella of English Dioceses." He found it chaos, a mere bundle of jarring and discordant fragments, loosely tied together by an Act of Parliament; he left it on his promotion to Winchester (1890) a united and coherent whole. Like Ryle, he never tried to conceal his Evangelical convictions; in two of his Charges he strongly defended the practice of Evening Communion; but his aim was to banish from the party all that was falsely narrow. "The dream of my life," he wrote, "is to make plain to all that an Evangelical Churchman can love culture, practise justice, discern differences, and respect goodness anywhere and everywhere."[1] "The Evangelical School is still active with life, but it is domestic life rather than public, and it needs widening."[2]

Bishop Thorold.

In 1885 his friend Edward Henry Bickersteth, incumbent of Christ Church, Hampstead, succeeded Temple as Bishop of Exeter. A missionary enthusiast and devoted member of the C.M.S. Committee, an earnest and successful missioner, and one of the first to recognise

Bishop Bickersteth.

[1] Letter, August, 1886, quoted in *Life*, p. 199.

[2] *Second Charge*, 1885.

the value of Quiet Days and Retreats, above all a man of simple and transparent saintliness, his influence over the party was both sweet and strong. To him the whole Church owes many beautiful hymns—"Peace, perfect peace," for example, and "Till He come"—and so it was fitting that he should edit the chief Evangelical hymn book. In 1870 he had brought out the first edition of the *Hymnal Companion to the Book of Common Prayer*, to take the place of his father's *Christian Psalmody*, and a revised edition in 1876. "In Anglican representativeness," writes Dr. Julian in the *Dictionary of Hymnology*,[1] "Bishop Bickersteth's work is at the head of all hymnals in the Church of England, and in keeping with this unique position it has also the purest texts." He not only grouped the hymns according to the divisions of the Prayer Book, but made the Prayer Book the test of doctrine also. His aim was that Prayer Book and Hymn Book should speak with the same voice, and no doctrine be found in one which could not be found in the other. This book rapidly superseded most of the older Evangelical collections, and when Convocation took its Hymn-Book Census in 1893 was found to be in use in 1478 English churches.

Some other Leaders.

In 1892 another of the Evangelical leaders, Norman Dumenil John Straton, Archdeacon of Huddersfield, was nominated by Lord Salisbury for the Bishopric of Sodor and Man. Here his great open-air services on Douglas Head, in which

[1] Article, "Church of England Hymnody."

during the summer months he frequently preached to congregations of over ten thousand, again showed a Bishop acting as chief Evangelist of his diocese.[1] In 1900 Francis James Chavasse, who, as Rector of St. Peter-le-Bailey, Oxford (1878–89), and as Principal of Wycliffe Hall (1889–1900), had gained a very remarkable influence over the undergraduates, was chosen to succeed Ryle as Bishop of Liverpool.[2] Two other names must be mentioned—Handley Carr Glyn Moule, Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge (1880–99), and William Hagger Barlow, Vicar of Islington (1887–1901), did not receive promotion till the next century, but their work did much to guide the party in the period before us. The former was pre-eminently the teacher and the theologian, whose mode of looking at truth was echoed in every diocese of England by the men whom he had trained for Holy Orders. His books, moreover, so scholarly and yet so intensely devout, are some of the most delightful that the modern Evangelical school has produced.[3] Dr. Barlow, on the other hand, was the man of affairs, the strong counsellor behind the scenes, to

[1] In 1907 he became Bishop of Newcastle.

[2] In 1891 the appointment of Dean Perowne to the See of Worcester gave great satisfaction on account of his sturdy Protestantism and his efforts to bring about more friendly relations with Nonconformists. He himself, however, though the son of a C.M.S. missionary, was more a Low Churchman than an Evangelical, having been a disciple of Connop Thirlwall, whose *Remains* he edited.

[3] See especially his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (Expositor's Bible) and his *Colossian Studies*, *Philippian Studies*, and *Ephesian Studies*. In 1901 he succeeded Westcott as Bishop of Durham.

whom others constantly turned for advice on practical matters, who led committees and guided policies and was popularly supposed to be all-powerful on the patronage trusts.[1] Other names might easily be added, but enough has been said to show that the party was still producing devout and capable leaders.

If we turn away from men to look at movements, we see four clearly marked in the period before us, the continuance of the controversy with the new school of High Churchmen, the breach of the party as a whole with the methods and spirit of the Church Association, the growth of the influence of the Keswick Convention, and the enormous extension of missionary work.

Eucharistic Controversy.

The long dreary ritual controversy still dragged endlessly on; but it must not be imagined that this was a dispute about mere externals. It was not only that one service was more ornate than another, that one clergyman wore a surplice and another a chasuble, that one stood on the west side of the Holy Table and another on the north. These points were outward and visible signs of deep doctrinal differences. Behind them lay the chief question on which the English Reformation had turned, the truth for which the Marian martyrs had willingly gone to the stake. For soon after the Gorham case the centre of controversy had begun to shift from Baptism to the Lord's Supper, and the old Church of England views, which had been held

[1] In 1901 he became Dean of Peterborough.

by Hooker and Waterland and all the great divines, were being fiercely challenged by the new school. On three points the division of opinion was very clearly marked. The first of these was *the nature of the Real Presence.* It was often asserted that Evangelicals preached "the real Absence." Even Liddon imagined that they did "not suppose themselves to be doing anything more serious than taking a little bread and wine in public in memory of an absent Christ."[1] But this was quite a misconception. "There is," wrote Bishop Ryle, "a special spiritual Presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, which they only know who are faithful communicants, and which those who are not communicants miss altogether."[2] "The Holy Supper," wrote Dr. Moule, "is something profoundly other than a mere commemoration. Not only do we keep the Feast, but Christ spreads it and presides at it. Thus we meet not one another only there, but Him."[3] "If our eyes, like those of Elisha's servant," he said on another occasion, "were opened to the unseen, we should indeed behold our Lord present at our Communions, not on, but at, the Holy Table, taking the consecrated bread and wine, and giving them to us. He presides over the Feast, and is the supreme Minister of it."[4] Evangelicals firmly believed that, when they came to the Lord's

[1] *Letter to Sir J. Coleridge on the Purchas Judgement*, p. 25.

[2] *Knots Untied*, p. 239.

[3] *The Supper of the Lord*, p. 50.

[4] *Report of Conference held at Fulham Palace in October, 1900*, p. 50, cf. p. 73.

Table, He who had issued the invitation would be present to meet His guests. But the new school of High Churchmen taught something very different. "The act of consecration makes the Real Presence."[1] "Such Presence depends altogether upon the consecration and in no wise whatever upon either the belief or unbelief of the communicants."[2] "The priest invokes the power of the Spirit on the bread and the wine, and they become the body and blood of the glorified Jesus."[3] "The priest has just consecrated the Blessed Sacrament. What is this upon the Altar? The Protestant says it is bread and wine. The Catholic says, 'This is Jesus, my Lord and my God. . . .' Is it so very hard to believe? Look here. I hold in my hand some grains of wheat; what is it? It is corn. I grind them in a mill. It is flour. I mix some water with it. It is changed again. It is dough. I put it in an oven. What is this now? It is bread. I take it to the Altar, and consecrate it. What is This? It is changed again. It is His Body. It is Jesus Christ."[4] Here was the first great difference between the two schools. One worshipped Christ as present "under the form of Bread and Wine."[5] The other worshipped Him as a Gracious Presence presiding over the Feast.

[1] Archdeacon Denison's *Sermons*, Vol. II, p. 107.

[2] Enraght's *Real Presence*, p. 6.

[3] Gore's *Creed of a Christian*, p. 87.

[4] Harry Wilson's *Christian Sacrifice*, pp. 6–8. Many High Churchmen would deplore the unguarded language used here, but it is typical of the teaching of an increasing number of the extremer men.

[5] *Declaration of English Church Union*, 1900.

The second point of dispute was *the meaning of the words*, "*Do this in remembrance of Me.*" The Evangelicals interpreted these words in the same way as the Prayer Book—"to the end that *we* should always remember the exceeding great love of our Master and only Saviour Jesus Christ thus dying for us."[1] "The Lord's Supper was a standing provision against *man's* forgetfulness."[2] "Who that knows the forgetfulness of his own heart towards God and his proneness to lose sight of the Cross, will not thankfully recognise the foreseeing love that gave these 'lively images' of the Sacrifice of Calvary for a perpetual memory of that His precious death, until His coming again?"[3] The new school had however a different interpretation. "There can be no doubt that the first and proper meaning of the word 'remembrance' in regard to the Holy Communion is the reminding of God—Do this for the reminding of God."[4] "This is by far the most important aspect of the Eucharist. The remembrance which we make is, above everything else, a remembrance made before God, the putting God in mind of the sacrifice of His only Son."[5] "The chief and principal object is to memorialize God."[6] "We display to God that precious Body and Blood in

Sacrament or Sacrifice?

[1] Third Exhortation in Communion Service.
[2] Ryle, *Knots Untied*, p. 200.
[3] Barnes-Lawrence's *Holy Communion*, p. 54.
[4] Vernon Staley's *Holy Communion*, p. 22.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[6] Prynne's *Devotional Instructions on the Eucharistic Office*, p. 94.

which all our hopes are centred. Such an act is most truly a sacrifice."[1] If asked how any sacrifice can be needed after the "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction"[2] of the Cross, they replied, "Sins committed eighteen hundred years after the Crucifixion could not have been taken away by that act, for a thing cannot be taken away which does not exist. Therefore there is necessity that the sacrifice should be continually pleaded for sin, as sin is committed. This is what Christ is now doing in Heaven."[3] "The priests of the Church here upon earth do the very same thing which He is doing in Heaven,—they offer and re-present the same all-prevailing Sacrifice, which alone taketh away the sins of the world."[4] "It was His will in His Passion that man should be the instrument through whose intervention He accomplished His sacrifice on the Cross. It is His will still that man should be the instrument through whom He, the Eternal Victim, should be perpetually presented to the Father at the Altars of His Church on earth."[5] "Whatever the offering on the Cross was, that the sacrifice on the Altar is."[6] The Evangelicals could not possibly accept this teaching. "The Holy Supper," wrote Dr. Moule, "may be, and is, an occasion for our noblest spiritual

[1] Mason's *Faith of the Gospel*, p. 328.
[2] Prayer of Consecration. Communion Service.
[3] Baring-Gould's *Golden Gate*, p. 83.
[4] Prynne's *Eucharistic Office*, p. 97.
[5] Lord Halifax in *The Lord's Day and the Holy Eucharist*, p. 8.
[6] Baring-Gould's *Golden Gate*, III, 163.

sacrifices:[1] but that is altogether another thing from its being in itself a sacrifice."[2] And this explains the stress they laid on two points, which to outsiders sometimes seemed trivial. The first was their care to avoid calling the Holy Table an Altar, —a word which had been deliberately removed from the Prayer Book in 1552. An altar is a place of sacrifice. To concede the word was to concede the whole doctrine. The other point was their resistance to the Eastward Position. For many generations clergy of every school had stood at the north end of the Holy Table, and this position had been adopted by all the older Tractarian leaders. But the younger men had introduced the practice of standing facing eastward with their backs to the people "This change," wrote Liddon,[3] "I feel to be most important. It is doctrinal." And every Ritualistic manual explained that this was done, "because this is the position of a Sacrificing Priest."[4] The old position was that of the Pastor ministering to the

[1] i.e. "Our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving" and "ourselves, our souls and bodies."

[2] Moule's *Supper of the Lord*, p. 49.

[3] *Life and Letters*, p. 37.

[4] *Ritual Reason Why*, p. 136; cf. Freeman's *Rites and Ritual*, p. 73: "By this position is signified and expressed the solemn oblation and sacrificial representation made by the celebrant." Prynne's *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, p. 187: "The position gives evidence to the great truth that in the Holy Eucharist a solemn Sacrifice is offered to God." Vernon Staley's *Ceremonial of the English Church*, p. 187: "The adoption of the Eastward Position is grounded on the truth that the Eucharist is a sacrifice." Cf. also *The Congregation in Church*, p. 48; Wilson's *Why and Wherefore*, p. 30; *Catechism on Office of Holy Communion*, p. 12; Healy's *Definite Church Teaching*, p. 103.

congregation. The new position was that of the Priest offering sacrifice to God. The Evangelicals set their faces strongly against this change, not because it was illegal, for the courts eventually decided that it was not, but because it was introduced for the express purpose of symbolising doctrine which they believed to be false.

The Food of the Soul.

The third great point of difference between the two schools was as to the meaning of *feeding upon the Body and Blood of Christ.* Those who believed that the elements became Christ at the consecration, of course interpreted these words quite literally. "How can this be? It is done through ordinary material channels."[1] "The Body and Blood of Christ are really and truly taken into our mouths."[2] "After Communion you may pray to Christ as within you."[3] On the other hand, the Evangelicals maintained that "feeding upon Christ's Body and Blood is a purely spiritual act, and not a bodily act at all."[4] They drew a clear distinction between the sign and the Thing Signified. They pointed to the sixth chapter of St. John, a discourse spoken months before the institution of the Holy Communion, as showing that feeding on the Body and Blood was something quite distinct from feeding on the bread and wine. They were fond of quoting the words of John Ferus, a Franciscan of the sixteenth century:

[1] Gore's *Creed of a Christian*, p. 87.
[2] T. T. Carter's *Simple Sermons*, p. 63.
[3] Pusey's *Spiritual Letters*, p. 309.
[4] Ford's *New Testament Doctrine of Holy Communion*, p. 29.

"To eat His Body spiritually is from thy heart to believe that Christ was made man, and took thy sins upon Himself, and for thee shed His Blood. He who thus believeth, by faith, as it were, draweth Christ unto himself, and becometh one body with Him."[1] But, nevertheless, they believed most firmly that "the Lord's Supper is a gracious opportunity, created by Christ Himself, of this Spiritual Communion with Him."[2] "We require no metaphor to explain the flesh and blood: they are the very flesh and blood which hung upon the Cross, and were there separated in death for our redemption. We are led back to the same night in which our Lord was betrayed. We follow Him as He bends beneath the Cross, and bears it to Calvary. We see that sacred Body torn with nails and pierced with spear: and it is that very human Blood that we remember when we fulfil His last command. We admit no metaphor in the 'flesh' and 'blood.' But when we speak of eating and drinking, then the presence of metaphor is felt. And the metaphor is most easy.... 'The strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the Body and Blood of Christ as our bodies are by the bread and wine.'"[3] "Then there comes into our waiting soul, in all its sweetness and power, the realisation of the love of God in Christ, that infinite, all-forgiving, all-embracing love, whose symbols we

[1] Quoted in Ryle's *Expository Thoughts on St. John*, Vol. I, p. 402. Moule's *Bishop Ridley on the Lord's Supper*, p. 259.

[2] Drury in *Church and Faith*, p. 190.

[3] Drury in *Church and Faith*, p. 193.

have eaten and drunk. We open our hearts to receive it; we take and eat the Bread of Life; we realise afresh the cleansing efficacy of the blood of the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world; we feed upon Christ in our hearts, by faith, with thanksgiving."[1] Such was the doctrine which Evangelical communicants held and Evangelical clergy taught and maintained.

Protests against Litigation.

But, though the doctrinal cleavage between the two schools was now wider than it had been in the previous period, a strong attempt was being made to stop litigation. So long as the cases taken before the courts had been test cases, brought merely to discover what the law really was, most of the party had regarded them as necessary evils; but when the Church Association went further, and tried to enforce the law, it lost the sympathy of many of its old supporters. Its Reports complain of "the waning love and dubious attitude of once familiar friends." At the Islington Meeting of 1883 "the disastrous policy of attempting to stay error by prosecution and imprisonments"[2] was vigorously denounced.

The *Record* moreover had now changed both its form and spirit. It no longer tried to compete with the daily papers, but as a sober fourpenny weekly it sought to do for the Evangelicals what the *Guardian* had done for High Churchmen. It soon became the outspoken organ of the moderate section. "Ec-

[1] Ford's *New Testament Doctrine of the Holy Communion*, p. 41.
[2] *Record*, January 19, 1883.

clesiastical litigation," it wrote in 1884,[1] "is not only undesirable, but extremely likely to do mischief to the cause of Evangelical truth. We can hardly imagine any course more certain to prejudice public opinion against the party who pursue it, more inevitably doomed to failure so far as practical result is concerned, or more calculated to deaden spiritual vitality and promote a harsh and unchristian spirit." 'It became obvious years ago," it said in 1889,[2] "that Evangelical Churchmen as a body were not in sympathy with the Church Association." Even the *Rock* assumed a far less militant tone, and for a time the extreme men were left without a paper, until in 1884 they acquired the *English Churchman.*

Efforts to organize.

Various attempts were made to provide some organization that should be independent of the Church Association. Ryle's scheme was to band together the Clerical and Lay Associations; but, though a Central Committee was formed in 1880, it was never able to accomplish much. Another more promising effort was made in 1889, when about a thousand representatives from all parts of the country met for a two days' Conference in Exeter Hall, and decided, "while gratefully acknowledging the past efforts of existing Protestant organizations,"[3] to form an entirely new Union, to be called the Protestant Churchmen's Alliance. Into this were absorbed two older societies,

[1] November 14, 1884.
[2] February 1, 1889.
[3] *Family Churchman*, June 26, 1889.

the Protestant Association, which by demonstrations and reprints of works on the Roman controversy had played in the past a leading part in resisting Papal aggression, and the Protestant Educational Institute, which for many years had arranged courses of theological lectures. The new Alliance continued and developed all these lines of work. It held mass meetings in many places, it largely increased the number of the lectures, by its publications it did much to enable Evangelicals to give a sound reason for the faith that was in them; but it failed to do what the English Church Union had done for its opponents, it failed to enrol more than a small minority of the party as members. In May, 1893, a new step was taken; the Alliance absorbed the Union of Clerical and Lay Associations, and became the National Protestant Church Union. "Our policy," it said, "will be one of *non-litigation*. We shall use our utmost endeavours to refute error and proclaim the truth, but this we shall do by *influencing public opinion*, and it will be our endeavour to speak the Truth in love, and ever to keep a spiritual aim in view. Our work will be to *educate* through the Press, by Literature, by Lectures, by Schools, by the Pulpit." The end of the century saw the formation (1899) of yet another Society, the Ladies' League, which was ultimately destined to unite with this, and thus to form the National Church League. But, though the work increased largely, it was still on the same lines. The books and lectures of these Societies were valued highly, but the party remained, as Ryle

had once described it,[1] a body of men who "preached the same doctrines and held the same opinions, supported the same societies, went to the same meetings and read the same books, papers and magazines," but yet clung so tenaciously to their old Protestant right of private judgement, that it was beyond the power of any central committee to organize them into a coherent whole,—a fact which some Evangelicals lamented, and others rejoiced in.

Meanwhile the Church Association stalwarts fought indomitably on. Though they had lost the sympathy of many of the clergy, they still had the support of a large body of laity behind them. There were by this time hundreds of devout Churchmen, who, after years of happy worship in their parish churches, found themselves confronted with the choice, either of attending services which they heartily detested and taking their children to listen to teaching which they believed to be false, or of reading prayers in their own dining-rooms, or of going with their families to dissenting chapels. Men like these were not willing to give up the struggle while the smallest hope of redress remained. Their chief battle in this period was the Lincoln Case. Their opponents had declined to recognise any secular court, so this time they appealed to a court entirely ecclesiastical, not founded on any statute, or modified by any Act of Parliament, the ancient Archiepiscopal Court of Canterbury. They had sometimes been blamed for prosecuting reckless

The Lincoln Case.

[1] Islington Meeting, 1868.

nobodies, extreme men who had rashly adopted indefensible positions. This time they chose the most cautious and respected Ritualist in England, and in January, 1889, cited the Bishop of Lincoln to appear before the Archbishop to answer a charge of having been guilty of illegal practices in the conduct of divine service. The Archbishop's judgement (November, 1890) may be summarised thus :—

1. *Mixing water with the wine during the Communion service.* This rubric had been deliberately omitted in 1552 "in accordance with the highest liturgical precedents." "To practise it, as if it had not been removed, is to disregard those precedents and this authority." But the wine may be diluted with water in the vestry before the service.

2. *The cleansing of the vessels with wine and water* after the benediction is not illegal.

3. *The Eastward position.* Soon after the Holy Tables were removed from "the midst of the choir," and placed against the east wall, "the north end became the generally used position, and is beyond question a true liturgical use in the Church of England," but "a certain liberty in the application of the term existed," and though "this liberty was less and less exercised for a long time," "it does not appear to be lost by that fact or taken away." The Eastward position is therefore also legally allowable.

4. *Breaking the Bread before the people.* "The tenor of the Common Prayer is openness. The work of its framers was to recover the worship of the Christian congregation. By the use of the mother

tongue, by the audibleness of every prayer, by the priest's prayers being made identical with the prayers of the congregation, by the removal of the invisible and inaudible ceremonial, the English Church restored the ancient share and right of the people in divine service." "The manual acts must be performed in such wise as to be visible to the communicants."

5. *The singing of the Agnus Dei* after the consecration, "though not the aptest anthem for use here," cannot be declared illegal, since the law allows "any psalm or prayer taken out of the Bible."

6. *Lighted candles* only become illegal when something is done to them "which comes under the definition of a ceremony."

7. *The sign of the Cross* in the absolution and benediction "is an innovation which must be discontinued."

The Judgement ended with a word of warning: "Things, which may necessarily be ruled to be lawful, do not for that reason become expedient."

The Archbishop had taken infinite pains over each decision; every point bristled with curious and recondite learning;[1] but, though the Court of Appeal upheld it in almost every particular, the Judgement did not bring peace to the Church. Both sides ridiculed the Archbishop's contention that such points as the position of the celebrant had no doctrinal signifi-

[1] Mr. J. T. Tomlinson was, however, able to catch him tripping over more than one salient point. See his *Historical Grounds of the Lambeth Judgement Examined.*

cance. Though a few moderate High Churchmen brought their ritual within the prescribed limits, the extreme men declined to do anything of the kind. "The Judgement does not affect any one," declared the *Church Times*,[1] "except the Bishop of Lincoln." It was "His Grace's personal opinion and no more," and showed that he was making "considerable progress in the acceptance of Catholic truth." On the other hand, most Evangelicals were deeply distressed; three or four clergymen seceded from the Church, and a few others might have followed, but for the strenuous action taken by the leaders. "I charge my brethren," wrote Bishop Ryle,[2] "not to listen for a moment to those who counsel secession. I have no sympathy with the rash and impatient men who recommend such a step. So long as the Articles and Prayer Book are not altered, we occupy an impregnable position. We have an open Bible, and our pulpits are free."

Two good results, however, followed the Lincoln Case. It caused the Church Association to abandon the policy of prosecution, and it led to a strengthening of the work of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society. The latter result was due to a letter, written to the *Record*[3] by A. J. Robinson, Rector of Holy Trinity, Marylebone, pointing out that the best way to defend the doctrines of the Reformation was to make the parishes, in which they were taught,

[1] November 28, 1890.
[2] Letter to *Record*, August 12, 1892.
[3] August 12, 1892.

thoroughly efficient. This plea was backed up by the Editor in a leading article:[1] "The wise course lies plainly before us. It is by doing good, rather than preventing evil, that the Evangelical body exert a real influence in the Church. The repression of illegal practices is the duty of the authorities; their responsibility will be more readily recognised and more easily discharged, when it is not attempted to be shared by volunteers. But, on the other hand, Evangelical work is heaped up around us waiting to be done. It would be a satisfactory and logical result of the Judgement, if the C.P.A.S. were to find its resources suddenly reinforced." From this suggestion sprang the Forward Movement of the Society, which did much to strengthen the work of many of the largest and poorest parishes.

A Message from America.

The third outstanding feature of the period was the influence of Keswick. To understand this movement we must look back fifteen years. In the midst of the great evangelistic campaign described in our last chapter, a feeling of dissatisfaction had begun to make itself felt. Something more was seen to be needed. Hundreds of fresh converts were being added to the Church, but quality is always more important than quantity. As one writer put it, "Would any one be satisfied if the whole world were converted to the kind of Christianity we see in our Churches to-day?" In America the same problem had arisen earlier, and many of the most earnest

[1] August 12, 1892.

teachers had turned to their Bibles almost in despair to learn how to lead their people to a higher and holier life. Much literature on the subject had been published, and many conferences held, and so it was natural that American Christians should have a message on this subject for their brethren in this country.

The message came in November, 1867, in the form of a short article in *The Revival*, a bright little weekly, which many Evangelicals at that time were reading. The writer was Mrs. Pearsall Smith, an American Quakeress, and her paper, which she called "The Way to be Holy," provoked a keen discussion. She followed this up by three articles on "Jesus, a Saviour from Sin," and then her husband defended her teaching in a long series of papers called "The Way of Holiness." The key-note of their message was that the normal Christian life was intended to be one of sustained victory over sin; that true salvation is not only from the guilt of past sins, but also from the power of those sins in the future; that this salvation is the gift of God, not the work of self, and is to be appropriated by faith, just like His other great gift of justification. He "is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of His Glory." "Mine eyes are ever toward the Lord: He shall pluck my feet out of the net."

In 1872 Pearsall Smith had an accident, which caused concussion of the brain, and his doctor advised a trip to England: but when he arrived, he soon discovered that a quiet holiday was impossible.

His articles had attracted widespread attention, and he was overwhelmed with invitations to explain the matter further. He was a glass manufacturer, without any theological training, who had accepted the new teaching in the highly emotional atmosphere of an American camp meeting; in many ways he was not well qualified to be a religious teacher; but he was the first representative of these views to cross the Atlantic, and he found hundreds of earnest souls eager to hear more about them. In a few weeks he was swept into a round of small meetings, and, though in his ignorance of theology he said things that were often exaggerated and sometimes positively erroneous, soon at least four Evangelical clergy—E. H. Hopkins of Holy Trinity, Richmond, E. W. Moore of Brunswick Chapel, G. R. Thornton of St. Nicholas', Nottingham, and D. B. Hankin of Christ Church, Ware—realised that the kernel of his teaching was soundly scriptural, and moreover just the message for which the Church was waiting.

Early Conventions.

In July, 1874, a Convention was held in the beautiful grounds of Broadlands, near Romsey, when Lord Mount Temple—the author of the famous Cowper-Temple clause—invited about a hundred guests to spend six days beneath the glorious beeches on his lawn, discussing "the Scriptural possibilities of faith in the life of the Christian (*a*) as to maintained communion with God, (*b*) as to victory over all known sin";[1] and this led,

[1] Quoted in Harford's *Keswick Convention*, p. 26.

by the advice of Sir Arthur Blackwood, to a series of public meetings "for the promotion of Scriptural holiness," which were held at Oxford in the following September. These were attended by about a thousand people, including a large number of the Evangelical clergy, and among those who accepted the new teaching was Canon Harford-Battersby, Vicar of St. John's, Keswick. Several smaller meetings followed in various parts of the country, one of which brought Hanmer William Webb-Peploe into the movement; and then, in June, 1875, came the great Convention at Brighton, at which more than six thousand people were present.

Opposition.

But this progress was only made in the teeth of much opposition. Most of the Evangelical leaders regarded the whole movement with the gravest suspicion. Close and McNeile, Ryle and Bell, and especially G. T. Fox of Durham, wrote strongly against it. The *Record* and the *Christian Observer* were entirely hostile. The clergy who had taken part in these conferences found themselves ostracized by all their brethren. The horror with which the meetings were regarded by sober Christian people would be quite unintelligible, did we not remember what a real danger Perfectionism at this time was.

Perfectionism.

Some years before a strange heresy had broken out in many places, combining a fierce Revivalist fervour with shameless immorality. In Eastern Prussia, Lutheran pastors were found to be secretly teaching doctrines, which caused

their leaders to be sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. In England a little group of clergy had seceded from the Church, and formed the disgusting sect of the Agapemonites. In America sect after sect had sprung up, the Pauline Church, the Perfect Church, the Bible Communists, the Sanctificationists, and half a dozen weekly papers were spreading their pernicious doctrines. Their method was mysticism run mad. They urged their converts to stand up and "profess Sanctification," then and there to yield their bodies to the Holy Ghost, and to believe that from that moment they could never sin again. "Whosoever is born of God cannot sin"; and since "to the pure all things are pure," therefore all things are lawful. But the Christian, they said, must walk by faith. He must cast away every safeguard invented by man, from his temperance pledge to his marriage vows. He must always remember that he is "free from the law," free alike from the Ten Commandments and from the law of the land, free from all engagements undertaken in his unconsecrated state, free to yield to all his impulses, for they are now the impulses of the Holy Ghost.

Now there was just enough resemblance between the teaching at the Conventions and this "doctrine of devils" to make cautious men afraid lest one should lead to the other, forgetting that the rapid spread of heresy is always a proof that the false teachers, amid all their errors, have rediscovered and brought to light some aspect of the truth, which the orthodox Church of that time is neglecting, and that

there is nothing more to be desired than a movement within the Church which shall lay hold of that positive truth, set it free from the errors that surround it, and reveal it in its right relation to the other articles of the faith. This is what the Evangelical leaders for a long time could not see. Two conferences arranged by Hay Chapman of the Lock Chapel failed to convince the older men that they were wrong; and then, as though to confirm their very worst suspicions, the Brighton Convention ended in disaster; the strain of the meetings proved too much for Pearsall Smith's brain; his public addresses became rambling and wild; there were rumours that his private teaching was even wilder still; and his English friends had to insist on his immediate return to America. The *Record* published a series of articles, "The Collapse of Pearsall Smithism,"[1] and most people regarded the movement as practically dead.

Keswick Convention.

It was under these discouraging circumstances that Canon Harford-Battersby held in July, 1875, his first Keswick Convention. He was a cultured Balliol man, who had gradually worked his way from the Tractarian to the Evangelical position, and till his visit to the Oxford Conference he had been regarded as one of the leaders of the party in the north, being Honorary District Secretary of the C.M.S., and, as we have seen, founder of the Evangelical Union for the diocese of Carlisle. Now he wished to give his

[1] December 22, 24, 27, 1875.

friends in the north an opportunity of hearing the new teaching for themselves. A tent had been hired, invitations sent out, and Pearsall Smith had promised to come and take the lead, when the news arrived that this was impossible. "The announcement," wrote the Canon,[1] "at the last moment sent us in a very urgent and expectant mood to the Throne of Grace, and we pleaded there, as the man in the Parable did (Luke xii. 5), with our Divine Friend for the help we so much needed. And He gave it. Other helpers came in answer to our telegrams, and their presence in the power of the Holy Ghost fully supplied our need." The helpers were G. R. Thornton, H. W. Webb-Peploe, and a layman, H. F. Bowker, who, after the Canon's death, became Chairman of the Convention.

From that day forward the Convention has been held every July; it has grown from a little semi-private gathering to one which draws its members from every part of the country; its numbers have increased from three or four hundred to more than ten thousand; new leaders have been raised up as the old ones passed away,—C. A. Fox, Hubert Brooke, and later Dr. Handley Moule,—but it has never swerved in its aims from the lines laid down by its founder:—

"(1) We must gain a clear view of the possibilities of Christian attainment.

"(2) We must form the distinct and deliberate purpose that this life shall by God's grace be ours.

[1] Quoted in Harford's *Keswick Convention*, p. 19.

"(3) We must look up to and wait upon our ascended Lord for all that we need to enable us to do this."[1]

The Result.

What has been the result? For one thing, Keswick has leavened the whole Church with its teaching. By its hymns, by its paper *The Life of Faith*, and by the books of its leaders, it has influenced thousands who have never set eyes on either of the great tents. It has killed, let us hope for ever, the dismal heresy that the Christian life is bound to be one continual succession of miserable falls and failures. It has taught men to lay hold on that half-forgotten article of the creed, "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life." It has put reality into those old familiar prayers of the Church, "Grant that this day we fall into no sin," "Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin." Without in the least weakening the emphasis on the work which Christ did *for* His people once for all on Calvary, it has brought into a new prominence in Evangelical teaching the work which He is waiting to do *in* them at the present day. What it has done for individuals no one can estimate. Thousands have come weary and discouraged to that quiet little lakeland town, and there have obtained victory in the life, rest in the heart, and power for their Christian work. Many an Evangelical parish and Evangelical Society has been quickened to fresh vigour and ever-extending usefulness through the new strength that has come to its workers during

[1] *Canon Harford-Battersby and the Keswick Convention*, p. 165.

the week at Keswick. Above all it has given an enormous impetus to foreign missionary work. Since 1886 the last meeting of the Convention has always been a missionary meeting, and men and women who have been singing from the heart—

> Take my life and let it be
> Consecrated, Lord, to Thee. . . .
> Take my silver and my gold,

are brought face to face with one way of using their lives and their gold in carrying out what is clearly the Lord's revealed will. "There is not a mission field," writes Mr. Eugene Stock,[1] "which is not indebted to the influence of Keswick for one or more of its labourers. No other single agency can compare with it in fruitfulness in this respect."

C.M.S. Centenary.

The fourth outstanding feature of the period was the enormous extension of missionary work and enthusiasm. In April, 1899, the Church Missionary Society kept its Centenary. The Albert Hall was crowded to the doors, and an overflow meeting had to be held in Exeter Hall also; in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, the Philharmonic Hall, Liverpool, the Leeds Coliseum, the Brighton Dome, and in more than 1600 other towns and villages in England and Wales special thanksgiving meetings and services were held, to say nothing of those in Ireland and the Colonies and the Mission Field. The progress of the Society since its Jubilee had been really

[1] *The Keswick Convention*, p. 139.

wonderful. As *The Times* in its leading article declared, it was now "one of the vastest organizations in the world, only comparable, by a strange irony, with the Society of Jesus. . . . Its history and expansion establish the old truth, that two cannot walk together except they be agreed, but that being agreed they can go almost anywhere and do almost anything. The gigantic celebration of this week is a triumph for clear and definite convictions maintained through thick and thin."[1]

Policy of Faith.

This progress dates from the adoption of the Policy of Faith. As early as 1853 the Committee had declared in their Report their "willingness to accept any number of true missionaries, who may appear to be called of God to the work. They will send out any number, trusting to the Lord of the Harvest, Whose is the silver and the gold, to supply their treasury with the funds for this blessed and glorious undertaking": but this declaration was gradually forgotten, and at last abandoned. In 1887, however, a report from the Estimates Committee warned the Society that candidates were multiplying faster than funds, and then, after much prayer and consultation, it was decided to follow the old heroic policy, though apparently not a single member of the Committee knew that it had been adopted before, and to refuse no suitable candidate merely for lack of funds, believing that God would provide for all, whom He was sending to His work. "Take no thought say-

[1] Leading article in *Times*, April 12th, 1889.

ing, What shall we eat? or Wherewithal shall we be clothed? But seek ye first the Kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you."

The result was immediately felt at home and abroad. For the next ten years more than seventy new missionaries were sent out every year instead of the previous average of about nineteen. In seven years the number of missionaries in the field was doubled. At the time of the Centenary the Society was maintaining 1096 Europeans, 343 native clergy, 5747 other native teachers, 2257 schools, and thirty well-equipped hospitals, and, in spite of one or two deficits which called for special appeals, on the whole the funds had not failed.

The Work Abroad.

In the two oldest missions the Society's work was now practically completed. In New Zealand the Maoris had been absorbed into the Colonial Church, and sixty-six native Maori clergy had been ordained. In Sierra Leone there was now a self-governing self-supporting Church, sending its own negro missionaries into the Hinterland. Further south was the new diocese of Western Equatorial Africa, with two self-supporting Churches on the coast, one at Lagos, and the other in the Niger Delta, and up the river a number of scattered missionary stations at which more than four thousand converts had been baptised. On the East Coast was an interesting group of missions of every kind,—medical, educational, industrial, evangelistic,—with a Bishop and seventy-five missionaries, the most striking experiment here being Frere Town,

which the Society had built as a place to which British men-of-war might bring the cargoes of the captured slave dhows.

Inland, Uganda, the most powerful kingdom in Central Africa, had been occupied. Stanley's discoveries in 1875 had called attention to this country, and though it was more than seven hundred miles from any missionary base, the C.M.S. had at once appealed for men who would claim it in the name of Christ. Of the first party of eight only two reached their destination, one blinded and the other wounded with a poisoned arrow, and within six months one of these two had been murdered. But as men fell reinforcements were ready to fill the gaps, and in 1882 the first five converts were baptised. But the troubles were not yet over. In 1885, James Hannington, the first Bishop, was murdered as he entered the country. In the persecution which followed, two hundred native converts were killed, many with horrible tortures, and the dauntless Mackay was left alone, the only white man in the heart of Africa. But when the news of the Bishop's death reached the Church at home, fifty men offered themselves to the Society in a few weeks, reinforcements were sent to the front, and the scattered Church was reorganized. Two years later a Mohammedan revolution undid all the work: the converts had to fly for their lives; the mission houses were destroyed, and the missionaries first imprisoned, and then banished from the kingdom. After eight months, however, came a counter-revolution, which over-

threw the Moslem leaders, and the Christian chiefs recalled the missionaries, and from that time onward the work had progressed so well, that by the Centenary year there was a vigorous native Church with a Bishop, forty-one European missionaries, twenty-one native clergy, and 1472 native lay-evangelists, a cathedral holding four thousand people, and over a thousand churches, all the native clergy and teachers being maintained and all the churches built by the freewill offerings of the people themselves.

But while some C.M.S. men were toiling in the tropics, others required sledges and snow-shoes to help them in their work. Eighty-seven were seeking to win the Red Indians of North-West America. In the older dioceses the work had by this time become for the most part pastoral, native clergy ministering to Indian congregations; but further north a third of the tribes still remained pagan, and further still in the Arctic circle were the wandering and degraded Eskimo, and even there C.M.S. clergy were at work, living in such desolate places as Herschel Island, a bleak treeless rock, ice-bound for nine months in the year, and enduring perpetual night for two months in the winter; and Blacklead Island, where the only communication with the outside world was the annual visit of a Scotch whaling brig.

Elsewhere, the strongholds of Mohammed were being patiently besieged, chiefly by means of medical missions and hospitals and schools; at Cairo, with its great Moslem university, at Baghdad, the resort of

the Shiah pilgrims, in Persia, and Palestine, and beyond the Jordan at the ancient Ramoth-gilead, and in the Land of Moab.

In India the chain of C.M.S. stations stretched from Karachi to Calcutta, along the whole length of the northern frontier, with churches and orphanages, schools and colleges, hospitals and medical missions, with 270 missionaries, 42 native clergy and 787 native teachers. On the west coast there was a group of stations around Bombay, and another on the east coast around Masulipatam, while in the extreme south there was a strong Church with over 100,000 native Christian members. In Ceylon also a difficult work was making steady progress, and the missionaries had gathered round them about 10,000 converts. In Mauritius efforts were being made to reach the coolies on the sugar plantations. The coast of mid-China was studded with missions from Shanghai to Pak-hoi—another Church baptised in blood, for nine of the workers had been murdered there in 1895—and a separate diocese had been formed in the far interior on the very frontier of Tibet. In Japan also the Society was taking more than its share in the work of building up the Nippon Sei Kokwai, the self-governing national Church, not only among the highly civilised people of the south, but also amongst the barbarous Ainu of the northern island.

Nor does this represent all the foreign work of the Evangelicals. The Church of England Zenana Society had 231 ladies in India and China. The

Jews' Society had 102 missionaries in Europe and 92 in the ghettos of Africa and Asia. The South American Society had 88 missionaries at work in that vast continent. And in addition to this several of the undenominational societies, such as the China Inland Mission with its 811 workers, and the South Africa General Mission with its 88, were largely manned and maintained by Evangelical Churchmen. For years the party had given its very best blood to this work, and critics, who ignore this fact, are bound to go astray. It is no doubt to be regretted that Evangelicals were not more to the front in Convocation and Diocesan Conferences, but before it is said that there were no ecclesiastical statesmen among them, Salisbury Square and the foreign field must both be remembered. Here men were building up strong and stable Churches out of the

> New-caught sullen peoples,
> Half devil and half child.

Here the most perplexing problems were being constantly grappled with: When the African convert has been baptised, what must be done with his ten or twenty lawful wives? If the Indian convert observes caste, is it an act of religious apostasy, or merely a lawful compliance with local social custom? How can a Western liturgy be adapted to the needs of an Eastern mind? How can the Holy Communion be administered in a land where both bread and wine are unknown? No man and no group of men can accomplish everything, and the very fact that so

much time and thought were being given to the work in heathen lands explains why less attention was paid to certain other problems which were occupying the minds of other sections of the Church.

The closing years of the nineteenth century found the Evangelicals stronger than at any previous period.

Conclusion.

Thirty years earlier Ryle had calculated that they included about one-fifth of the clergy. Now fully a quarter of the parishes in England were in their hands. This is probably an under-estimate, for a quarter would mean only 3600 parishes, whereas more than 5700 were supporting the C.M.S. As "sober, peaceable and truly conscientious sons of the Church of England," they were doing their work as Churchmen on their own definite lines, entirely satisfied with the Church's system and the Church's formularies. What has been their special contribution to religious life and thought? For one thing they have taught their brethren to recognise the need of evangelization, the primary importance of home and foreign missions, the fact that the first duty of a Church is to seek and save the lost, as a good physician visits first the most dangerous cases, and a good shepherd gives most attention to the sheep that have wandered from the fold. Again, they have refused to allow men to ignore the Bible. In all controversy they have carried their appeal back to primitive times, to the simple faith and spiritual worship of the first century, rather than to the tangled tradition and ceremonial of the twelfth. Their plea has been that

Christian teaching must be tested by the New Testament, not by any nebulous formula known as "Catholic truth"; nor have they attributed to German Professors an infallibility which they have declined to acknowledge in the Pope. They have never allowed men to lose sight of the inspired Scriptures through interest in the speculations of later Christian ages. "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."[1] And this has led them to lay special stress on three important facts, which they have found specially prominent in the New Testament, facts which most of their fellow Churchmen acknowledge to be true, but which few have emphasized as Evangelicals have done. The first is the fact that Christianity is a religion of Redemption: that the Atonement is the very foundation doctrine of the faith: that Calvary is the only spot from which a true view of Sinai and Bethlehem and Olivet can be obtained. "There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus"—this is the Evangel, the Good News from which they obtained their name. The second point is the supremacy of the spiritual over the external, the fact that the root of personal religion lies deeper than in any sacred rites or series of moral actions; that the "abysmal depths of personality" must feel the Presence of God

[1] *Thirty-nine Articles*, Article VI.

moving upon the face of the waters; that conversion not conformity, change of heart not change of habit, is the thing to be worked for; that ritual, church-going, outward observances do not make a Christian, but the action of the Spirit of God transforming the inner life. The Evangelicals have never mistaken the machinery for the motive power. But the chief source of their success has lain in the third point. They have never allowed anything, however sacred, to come between themselves and Christ. While all Churchmen strive to teach the whole Christian faith, each party tends to emphasize some particular point. High Churchmen are apt to accent the functions of the Church and Sacraments; Broad Churchmen lay stress on the thought of the universal Fatherhood of God; but with Evangelicals the central point has always been the Person of Christ, the glory and the all-sufficiency of His work, incarnate Lord, propitiatory Sacrifice, risen and ascended Saviour. To be a Christian is to know Christ, to believe in Him and to love Him, to walk with Him, to work for Him, to watch for His second coming. Personal devotion to a personal Redeemer has ever been the keynote of their message; their aim, that expressed in one of the most popular of the Keswick hymns—

Nothing between, Lord, nothing between;
Let me Thy glory see,
Draw my soul close to Thee,
Then speak in love to me,
Nothing between.

FOR FURTHER STUDY. Stock's *History of the C.M.S.* Moule's *Evangelical School in the Church of England. Life of Archbishop Benson*, by his son. Simpkinson's *Bishop Thorold.* Aglionby's *Life of Bishop Bickersteth. Read v. Bishop of Lincoln: Judgement.* Tomlinson's *Historic Grounds of the Lambeth Judgement.* Harford's *Keswick Convention.* Pierson's *Story of Keswick. Canon Harford-Battersby and the Keswick Convention*, edited by his sons. *Account of the Union Meeting at Oxford, 1874. Record of Convention for Promoting Scriptural Holiness at Brighton, 1875.* Mullin's *Wonderful Story of Uganda.* Dawson's *Life of Bishop Hannington. Mackay of Uganda*, by his sister. Harford-Battersby's *Pilkington of Uganda.* Faulkner's *Life of Bishop Hill* (Niger). Lewis' *Life of Peck* (Eskimo). Batty's *Forty-two years amongst Indians and Eskimo.* Buckland's *Life of Bishop Horden* (Hudson's Bay). Halcombe's *Stranger than Fiction* (Duncan at Metlakahtla). Clark's *Missions in the Punjab and Sindh.* Clark's *Robert Clark of the Punjab.* Lewis' *G. M. Gordon, Pilgrim Missionary of the Punjab.* Birks' *Life of Bishop French* (Lahore). Grey-Edwards' *Memoir of John Thomas* (Tinnevelly). Eugene Stock's *Japan Mission.* Batchelor's *Sea-Girt Yezo* (N. Japan). Moule's *Story of the Cheh Kiang Mission.* Watson's *Life of Robert and Louisa Stewart.* Berry's *The Sister Martyrs of Ku-Cheng. For Christ in Fuh-Kien* (published by C.M.S.). Barnes' *In Salisbury Square.* For C.E.Z.M.S.: Barnes' *Behind the Purdah, Behind the Great Wall, Between Life and Death.* Carus Wilson's *Irenie Petrie.* Guinness' *Story of the China Inland Mission.* The best account of Bishop Ryle is in a series of articles which appeared in the *Liverpool Courier*, February 13, 15, 20, March 1, 1900.

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

1727.	Accession of George II.
1729–1735.	The "Holy Club" at Oxford.
1738.	Conversion of the Wesleys.
1739.	Field-preaching begun.
1742–1763.	Grimshaw, Incumbent of Haworth.
1743–1752.	Hervey, Curate of Weston Favell. Rector 1752–1758.
1745.	Young Pretender's invasion.
1746–1761.	Walker, Curate of Truro.
1748.	Adam of Winteringham became Evangelical died 1784.
1749–1795.	Romaine, Lecturer at St. Dunstan's.
1750–1780.	Madan, Chaplain of Lock Chapel.
1753–1762.	T. Jones, Chaplain of St. Saviour's, Southwark.
1754.	Conversion of John Thornton.
1754–1759.	H. Venn, Curate of Clapham.
1755–1793.	Berridge, Vicar of Everton.
1759–1771.	H. Venn, Vicar of Huddersfield. Rector of Yelling, 1771–1797.
1760.	Accession of George III.
1760–1785.	Fletcher, Vicar of Madeley.
1764–1780.	Newton, Curate of Olney.
1764–1795.	Romaine, Rector of St. Andrew, Blackfriars.

1767.	Arrival of Cowper at Olney.
1768.	Expulsion of students from St. Edmund Hall.
1768–1778.	Toplady, Vicar of Broad Hembury.
1770.	J. Milner became Evangelical. Died 1797.
	Death of Whitefield.
	Climax of Calvinist Controversy.
1773.	Revolt of American Colonies begun.
1774–1778.	Robinson, Curate of St. Martin's, Leicester. 1778–1813 Vicar of St. Mary's.
1777.	Elland Society formed to assist candidates for ordination.
1777–1809.	Wilson, Incumbent of Slaithwaite.
1778–1784.	Hawker, Curate of Charles, Plymouth. Vicar 1784–1827.
1780.	Raikes' first Sunday-schools at Gloucester.
1780–1807.	Newton, Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth.
1780–1808.	Cecil, Incumbent of St. John's, Bedford Row.
1781–1785.	Scott, Curate of Olney.
1782.	Lady Huntingdon licensed her chapels.
1783.	Eclectic Society formed.
1783–1836.	Simeon, Incumbent of Trinity, Cambridge.
1784.	Wesley's first ordinations.
1784–1816.	Crosse, Vicar of Bradford.
1785.	Conversion of Wilberforce.
1785–1803.	Scott, Chaplain of Lock Hospital. Rector of Aston Sandford 1801–1821.
1785–1828.	Jones, Curate of Creaton. Rector 1828–1833.
1785–1831.	Woodd, Incumbent of Bentinck Chapel.
1787.	Wilberforce determined to attack the slave trade.
	Hannah More joined the Evangelicals.
	Wesley licensed all his chapels.

1788–1820.	Isaac Milner, President of Queens', Cambridge.
1789.	French Revolution.
	Hannah More began work at Cheddar.
1791.	Death of Wesley and Lady Huntingdon.
1792–1813.	John Venn, Rector of Clapham.
1795.	Bristol Clerical Education Society formed.
1798.	Battle of the Nile.
1799.	Church Missionary Society founded.
	Religious Tract Society founded.
1799–1838.	Biddulph, Incumbent of St. James', Bristol.
1802.	First number of the *Christian Observer*.
1804.	Bible Society founded.
	Martyn sailed for India.
	First C.M.S. Missionaries sailed for Sierra Leone.
1807.	Abolition of Slave Trade.
1809.	Jews' Society founded.
1811–1861.	Cunningham, Vicar of Harrow.
1813.	India opened to missions.
	First missionary deputations.
1814.	Marsden landed in New Zealand.
1815.	Battle of Waterloo.
1815–1824.	Ryder, Bishop of Gloucester. Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry 1824–1836.
1816.	Travancore Mission begun.
	First African converts admitted to Holy Communion.
1818.	Buxton entered Parliament. Died 1845.
1820.	Accession of George IV.
	Bishop H. Marsh's Eighty-seven Questions.
1823.	Newfoundland Society founded.
1824–1832.	Wilson, Vicar of Islington. Bishop of Calcutta 1832–1858.

1825.	Apocrypha Controversy.
1826.	Lord Ashley entered Parliament: became Lord Shaftesbury 1851: died 1885.
1826–1856.	Close, Incumbent of Cheltenham. Dean of Carlisle 1856–1881.
1826.	C. Sumner, Bishop of Llandaff. Bishop of Winchester 1827–1869.
1828.	First number of the *Record.*
1828.	Lord Ashley undertook cause of lunatics.
1828–1831.	Stowell, Curate of St. Stephen, Salford. Incumbent of Christ Church 1831–1865.
1828–1848.	J. B. Sumner, Bishop of Chester. Archbishop of Canterbury 1848–1862.
1829.	Catholic Emancipation Act.
1829–1843.	Melvill, Incumbent of Camden Chapel.
1830.	Accession of William IV.
	Tests Controversy in Bible Society.
1831.	Exeter Hall opened.
1832.	Reform Bill.
1832–1886.	D. Wilson junior, Vicar of Islington.
1833.	First number of *Tracts for the Times.*
	Slave Emancipation Act passed.
	Lord Ashley undertook cause of factory children.
1834–1848.	McNeile, Incumbent of St. Jude's, Liverpool. Incumbent of St. Paul's 1848–1860. Dean of Ripon 1868–1875.
1835.	Australian Church Missionary Society founded.
1835–1846.	Dale, Vicar of St. Bride's, Fleet Street.
1836.	Church Pastoral-Aid Society founded.
1837.	Accession of Victoria.
1837–1860.	Champneys, Rector of Whitechapel. Dean of Lichfield 1868–1875.
1840.	Tract XC.

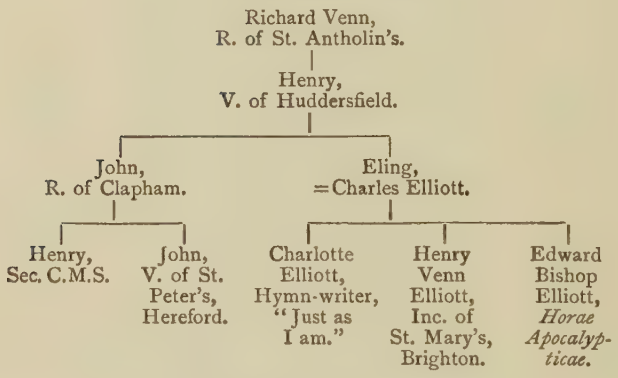
1824–1832.	Parker Society founded.
1841.	Martyrs' Memorial unveiled.
	Jerusalem Bishopric founded.
	Venn became Secretary of C.M.S.
1842.	Collieries Bill passed.
1843.	Free Kirk Secession in Scotland.
	Surplice troubles in London.
1844.	Surplice troubles in Exeter.
	South American Missionary Society founded.
	C.M.S. work in China begun.
1845.	Secession of Newman.
1846.	Repeal of Corn Laws.
1846–1866.	Miller, Rector of Birmingham. Vicar of Greenwich 1866–1880.
1847.	Factory Act passed.
1847–1850.	Gorham Case.
1848.	C.M.S. Jubilee.
1849.	Irish Church Missions founded.
1850.	Revival of Convocation.
	Gorham Judgement.
1851.	Secession of Manning and others.
	Death of Allen Gardiner.
	Colonial Societies amalgamated.
	Evening Communion revived.
1852–1859.	Cadman, Rector of St. George's, Southwark: died 1891.
1854–1855.	Crimean War.
1855.	Religious Worship Bill.
1856.	Missions to Seamen founded.
1856–1865.	Appointment of the Palmerston Bishops.
1857.	Indian Mutiny.
1858.	First Clerical and Lay Association formed.
1859.	English Church Union formed.
1861.	First Church Congress.

1861.	Indian Female Instruction Society founded.
1864–1873.	Pennefather, Incumbent of St. Jude's, Mildmay Park.
1865.	Church Association formed.
1866.	China Inland Mission founded.
1868.	First number of the *Rock*.
1868–1877.	Ritual Prosecutions.
1869.	Irish Church disestablished.
1870.	The *Hymnal Companion* published.
	Elementary Education Act.
1872.	First day of Intercession for Missions.
1874.	Public Worship Regulation Act.
1874–1875.	First Moody Mission.
1875.	First Keswick Convention.
1877.	Wycliffe Hall opened.
	First missionaries entered Uganda.
1877–1890.	Thorold, Bishop of Rochester. Bishop of Winchester 1890–1895
1880–1900.	Ryle, Bishop of Liverpool.
1881.	Ridley Hall opened.
1882.	The *Record* became a weekly paper.
1885.	Bishop Hannington murdered.
1885–1900.	Bickersteth, Bishop of Exeter.
1887.	C.M.S. "Policy of Faith" adopted.
1889.	Protestant Churchmen's Alliance formed.
1889–1892.	The Lincoln Case.
1899.	C.M.S. Centenary.

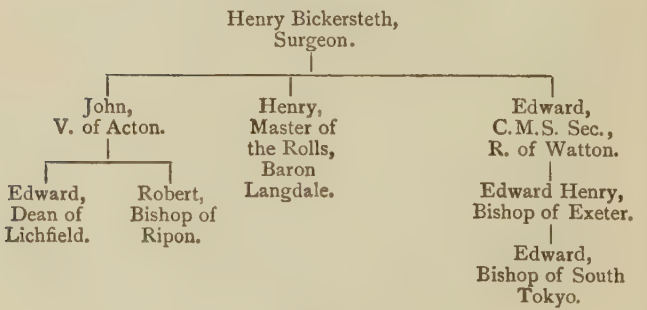
APPENDIX II

Genealogies

1. THE VENN FAMILY



2. THE BICKERSTETH FAMILY



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